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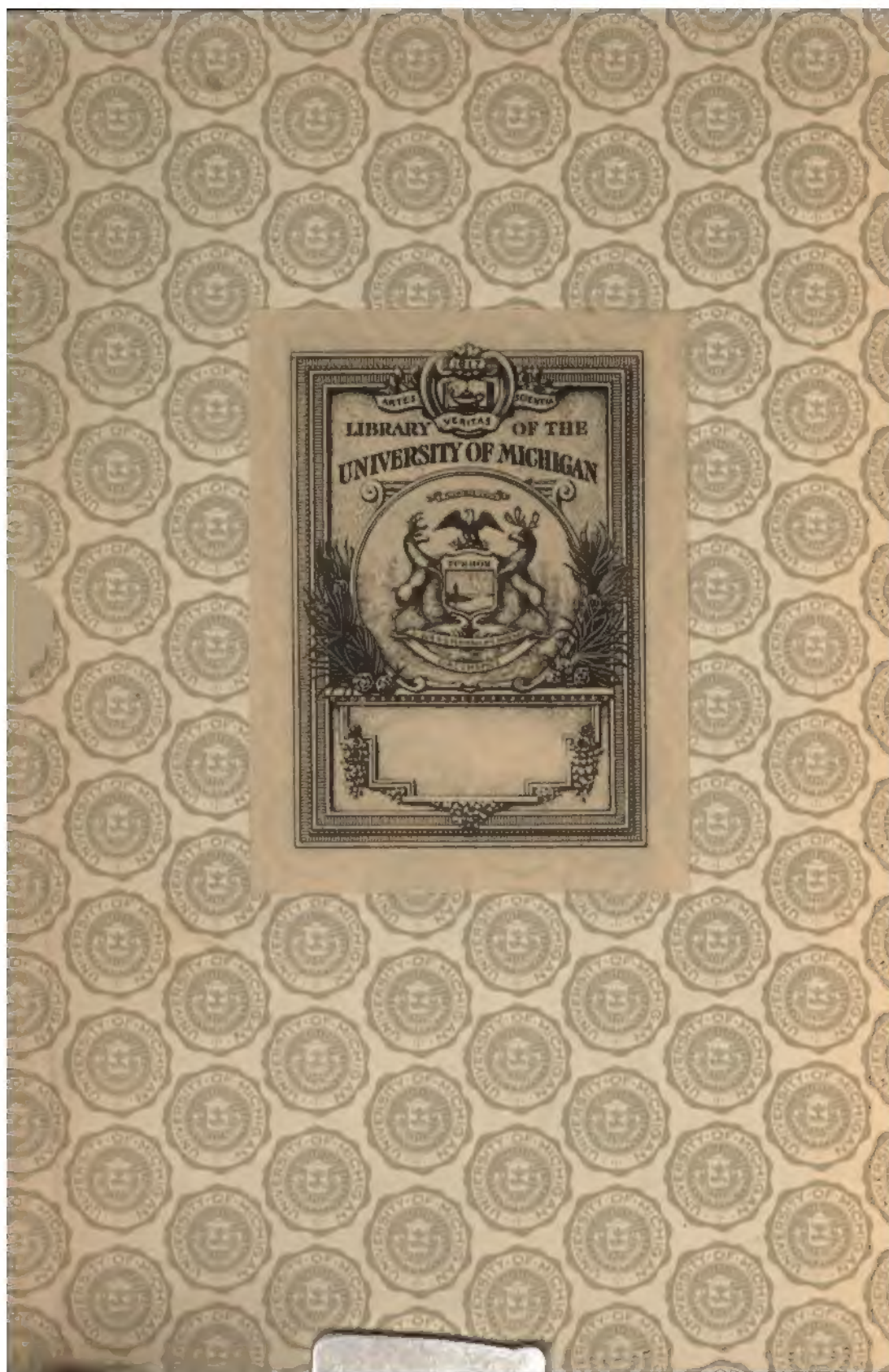
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The University of Minnesota

STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

NUMBER 1

AN INQUIRY INTO THE COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE OF LUDUS COVENTRIAE

BY

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WITH A NOTE ON THE HOME OF LUDUS COVENTRIAE

BY

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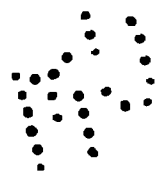
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PREFACE

During the year which has elapsed since my preparation of the *Note on the Home of Ludus Coventriae* it has been possible for me to collect further information from Lincoln records with regard to the Lincoln plays. This I shall publish when opportunity offers. The paper printed here will, as it stands, have value as a statement of the problem of the location of *Ludus Coventriae* and as an explanation of the issues involved, so far as they are capable of explanation in the light of the materials already available in print. Another matter connected with this publication which demands some explanation is that Miss Swenson's *Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae* was already out of her hands when Miss M. H. Dodds' paper, entitled *The Problem of Ludus Coventriae*, appeared in the January number of the *Modern Language Review*. Miss Swenson did not, therefore, have opportunity, in the preparation of her thesis, to consult Miss Dodds' article. I have made it the subject of a few comments at the end of my *Note* on pages 81-83 below.

HARDIN CRAIG.

October 1, 1914.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE OF LUDUS COVENTRIAE

INTRODUCTION

The question of the locality to which the so-called *Ludus Coventriae* ought to be assigned has long been debated. In the year 1841 Halliwell edited the plays for the Shakespeare Society under the following title: "Ludus Coventriae: A Collection of Mysteries formerly represented at Coventry on the Feast of Corpus Christi." His principal authority for assigning the cycle to Coventry is a note written on the flyleaf of the manuscript by Dr. James, who was librarian to Sir Robert Cotton, the last private owner of the manuscript: "Contenta Novi Testamenti scenice expressa et actitata olim per monachos sive fratres mendicantes: vulgo dicitur hic liber Ludus Coventriae, sive Ludus Corporis Christi." Later Dugdale in his *History of Warwickshire*, written in the middle of the seventeenth century, states, probably only on the authority of James, that these plays were presented by the Grey Friars at Coventry. And so for a time scholars seem to have taken it for granted that the cycle belonged to the town of Coventry.

With the advent of modern critical methods, however, scholars have begun to inquire into the authority upon which James based his assertion, and have found that it rests on no reliable ground. It will be noted, first, that James does not state positively that these were Coventry plays, but simply that they were commonly so called; and, secondly, that, in describing the cycle as made up of plays dealing with subjects from the New Testament, James shows that he is unfamiliar with their contents. There were, however, craft-plays at Coventry that contained only New Testament material, and it seems possible that James confused them with the *Ludus Coventriae*. On the first page of the manuscript the plays are entitled simply, "The plaie called Corpus Christi," no mention being made of their location. The inscription is written in a later hand, probably early in the sixteenth century.

Attention has often been called to the last four lines of the Prologue:

A Sunday next, yf that we may,
At vi of the belle we gynne oure play,
In N. towne, wherfore we pray
That God now be youre spede, Amen.

They have been thought to indicate that the plays were performed by a company of strolling players, the 'N' of 'N. towne' standing for *nomen*.

Ten Brink and Pollard accept this interpretation and also point out that the dialect indicates a North-East Midland origin for the cycle.¹ Mr. Hohlfeld suggests that the plays might originally have been presented by the Grey Friars at Coventry, and later, when the craft-plays of Coventry had robbed the Friars of their popularity, the cycle might have been taken over by a strolling company.²

Mr. Chambers, on the other hand, does not consider it necessary to conclude that the 'N' of 'N. towne' indicates *nomen* and consequently a band of strolling players. He suggests that it may stand for Norwich or some other North-East Midland town beginning with 'N.'³ Mr. Gayley, being impressed with the large number of plays in the cycle dealing with the life of the Virgin, suggests Lincoln as their possible location; for in the Lincoln craft-plays there was always ecclesiastical coöperation, and especial emphasis was laid upon the legends of the Virgin.⁴ Mr. Gayley also calls attention to the similarity of the Old Testament plays in the *Ludus Coventriae* to those in the Chester cycle and also to the *Viel Testament* and suggests that all three of the cycles spring from a common French source, located in time between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.⁵

These proposals are, however, not in any case sufficiently substantiated and seem to be little more than guesses. The history of the manuscript is shrouded in mystery, and so far examination of town records and other external evidence has yielded no great positive results. It seems worth while to turn to an examination of the cycle itself, its language, composition, style, etc., with the hope that an investigation of internal evidence may prove more successful.

Mr. M. Kramer in his treatise called *Sprache und Heimat des sogen. Ludus Coventriae* has made a study of the linguistic peculiarities of the cycle and arrives at the conclusion that there underlies the cycle, as it now stands, an older "kernel cycle." This basal cycle, he believes, originated in the southern part of England near the border between the South and the East Midlands, possibly in Wiltshire, but that the old original cycle has been further developed and revised in the North-East Midlands; he thus partially supports Ten Brink's assertion.

The composite nature of the cycle which seems to indicate that the play is made up of various parts of cycles, originally not connected, as here recognized by Kramer, has been pointed out by many other scholars. Creizenach and Ten Brink both call attention to Prologue material in the

¹ Ten Brink, *History of English Literature*, ii. p. 283; Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, xxxvii.

² A. R. Hohlfeld, *Die altenglischen Kollektivmysterien*, in *Anglia*, xi.

³ E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, ii. p. 421.

⁴ C. M. Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, p. 136.

⁵ Gayley, pp. 325, 326. For a further discussion of the sources of this cycle, cf. Falke, *Die Quellen des sog. Ludus Coventriae*.

Nativity and Passion groups of plays which marks off separate units.⁶ And Collier expresses the opinion that *Contemplacio* was introduced after the first production.⁷ Mr. Davidson in his *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*⁸ suggests that these materials, which sprang from various sources, were recast into cyclic form by one writer at a late date, probably early in the sixteenth century. The sixteenth century, however, is too late, since the manuscript is generally thought to have been written in the year 1468. Moreover, the metrical arrangement of the plays, as I hope to show later, does not indicate that the whole cycle has been rewritten at one time and by one hand. It may, however, be very possible that considerable portions of the cycle, such as the ecclesiastical parts of the Nativity plays, are the work of one author. Mr. Chambers⁹ cites a rumor that Lydgate of Bury was such an author; and Mr. Hemingway in his *English Nativity Plays*¹⁰ gives a number of arguments in favor of such a conjecture.

In the book mentioned above Mr. Hemingway has made a comparative study of the Nativity plays in the four cycles, together with an inquiry into their origin and sources. He has printed from *Ludus Coventriae* five plays. The Salutation, Joseph's Trouble about Mary, The Visit to Elizabeth, The Nativity [Joseph and the Midwives], and the play of the Shepherds. As a result of his study of these plays, he finds that the ecclesiastical portions, notably the Dispute of the Four Daughters of God in the play of the Salutation, were omitted from the Prologue; and that the action of the plays would not be seriously affected if these parts were omitted. He concludes that the original plays did not contain the theological elements, but were like the other English plays and possibly written originally for trading companies.¹¹ It has occurred to me that a comparison of the general Prologue and the individual plays throughout the cycle might help to determine the structure and composition of the cycle. In connection with this comparison, I have also made a study of the manuscript, the metrical arrangement, and the stage-directions with a view to distinguishing between older and newer elements in the plays.

The manuscript of *Ludus Coventriae* is found in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Vespasian D. viii. It is generally thought to have been written in the year 1468, since that date is written on the verso of fol. 100, and is apparently in the hand of the scribe. In addition to Dr. James's note, quoted above, the name of Robert Hegge, Dunelmensis, occurs at the beginning of the manuscript and is followed by the title, "The plaie called Corpus Christi," written in a later hand, which Mr. Hemingway asserts to be the hand of

⁶ W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (c. 300, Ten Brink, i pt 1) 283.

⁷ J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, ii 160.

⁸ Doct. Diss. Yale, 1892.

⁹ S. B. Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays* xxxvii.

¹⁰ Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays* xxxii.

¹¹ Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, ii 145.

Robert Hegge. Hegge has written his name in a number of places on the manuscript and other names also occur, written in the margins and on blank pages, John Holland, John King, William Dere, and John Taylphott. The places where these names occur are indicated below in the discussion of the various plays.

The absence of guild names or of clear divisions between plays in the manuscript has led scholars to suppose that the plays were not performed by craft-guilds. But the fact that numbers are written in the margins and elsewhere to mark off the various plays may indicate that at some time in the history of the cycle an attempt was made to divide the cycle up into separate plays and to hold various crafts responsible for each part. The numbering of these plays is in a hand contemporary with that of the scribe, and is done at the same time as the marginal paragraph marks and the large initial letters. The numbering and rubrications run straight through and include the Assumption play, although this is written in a different hand. Whether or not the numbering was done by the scribe who wrote the body of the manuscript, it is certainly true that the numbering must have been done on a later occasion, namely at the time of the incorporation of the Assumption play.

In the following discussion I have adhered to the divisions as marked in the manuscript and not as they have been reproduced by Halliwell in his edition. Wherever there is any disagreement between Halliwell and the manuscript, and this occurs mainly in the part of the cycle dealing with the Passion, I have found that the manuscript divisions correspond better with the Prologue than Halliwell's do. In the table of comparison between the Prologue and the plays I have indicated Halliwell's divisions in the right-hand margin with arabic numerals in parentheses.

A study of the metrical arrangement of the cycle reveals the fact that there are, belonging to the original cycle, five types of stanza that seem to be basic forms, as follows: (1) A thirteen-line stanza rhyming a b a b a b a b c d d d c. The first eight lines have generally four accented syllables, and the ninth and thirteenth lines vary from one to three. This type is used throughout the Prologue and the first part of the cycle. (2) A linked ballad stanza a a a b c c c b, of which lines one to three and five to seven are tetrameter lines, and lines four and eight, trimeter lines. (3) The third type of stanza is the four-foot quatrain. In the first half of the cycle double quatrains, a b a b b c b c, predominate, and in the second half the single quatrains seem to be preferred. (4) Couplets are used here and there in the latter part of the cycle, but never to any great extent. (5) The second part of the play of Joseph's Trouble about Mary and the Purification play employ a stanza that does not appear elsewhere in the cycle, a a b a a b b c b c. The lines vary in length from three to four feet, but are generally four feet long. In addition to these five forms there is considerable use made of the

tumbling meter with various rhyming schemes, a form of verse which I believe may be mainly the work of a redactor. The interweaving of these various stanzas is indicated in the discussion of the individual plays and also summarized in a table at the end.¹²

For convenience of treatment I have divided the cycle into four groups. It is not meant that these groups indicate anything very definite as to the structure of the cycle.

GROUP I

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| i. Fall of Lucifer | iii. Cain and Abel |
| ii. Fall of Man | iv. Noah and the Flood |
| | v. Abraham's Sacrifice |

PROLOGUE

PLAYS

The Fall of Lucifer

(Including the first 82 lines of Halliwell's *Creation*)

- | | | |
|--|---|-----|
| i. | i. God makes an introductory speech, in which he speaks of himself as "alpha et ω ," one God in three persons, etc. | (1) |
| Creation of heaven and the angels. | In the 29th line of this speech he says, "Now wole I begynne my werke to make," and then goes on to tell how he creates heaven with the stars and the angels. | |
| The angels worship God. Rebellion and fall of Lucifer. | The angels sing, "Tibi omnes Angeli." Lucifer rebels and is expelled from heaven by God. He laments, but says nothing of plans for revenge. | |

The Fall of Man

(Including the rest of Halliwell's *Creation* as well as his *Fall of Man*)

- | | | |
|--|--|-----|
| ii. The other six days of creation. | ii. God goes on in his speech to describe the work of the other six days of creation. | |
| The creation of Adam and Eve, the garden, the command. | The creation of Adam and Eve on the sixth day. They are placed in paradise and given the command concerning the tree of knowledge. God rests on the seventh day, blesses his work, goes to heaven. | |
| The temptation and fall. | Adam and Eve express gratitude. The temptation and fall. God visits the garden, calls Adam, Eve, and the Serpent to account. The Serpent gives jealousy of man as a reason for his deed. | (2) |
| Expulsion from garden, angel left to guard the gates. | Condemnation and expulsion, angels left to guard the gates. | |
| | Adam and Eve lament. | |

¹² Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, and Hohlfield, *Anglia*, xi, have treated the question of the meters of this cycle, but only incidentally.

Cain and Abel

- iii. Cain and Abel ask Adam's advice as to the best mode of worship. (3)
 They select the offering. Abel chooses his best sheep, Cain considers it foolish to give the best to God, who does not use it. Abel remonstrates, but to no purpose.
 Cain and Abel offer sacrifices. The sacrifice. Abel's sacrifice burns, while Cain's does not. Abel explains this as betokening God's approval of his selection of the best.
 Cain slays Abel. Cain slays Abel.
 God's curse upon Cain. God's curse upon Cain. Cain's lament.

Noah and the Flood

- iv. Noah and his family, in turn, pray for deliverance from sin. Noah announces himself the second progenitor of the human race. (4)
 God resolves to destroy man.
 God is angry with man. An angel delivers the command to Noah to build the Ark. Noah hesitates; he is too old (five hundred years) to undertake such a task; but the angel reassures him.
 God sends an angel to command Noah to build an ark, etc. Noah and his family go to the sea.
 The Lamech episode. Blind Lamech, walking with a youth, boasts of his skill in archery. The youth sets a mark for him; Lamech inadvertently slays Cain. In anger, he also kills the youth, and then goes to hide.
 Noah returns with his family; they sing, lamenting the flood.
 After forty days, Noah sends out a crow. When forty days have passed Noah sends out a crow.
 Later a dove, that brought good tidings. Later he sends out a dove, which returns carrying an olive leaf.
 They sing, "Mare vidit et fugit."

Abraham's Sacrifice

- v. Abraham praises God, exhorts his son to honor God. (5)
 Abraham goes for a walk, and an angel meets him. gives him the command.
 Abraham receives the command to sacrifice Isaac.
 Abraham is willing to do God's bidding. Abraham takes Isaac with him and goes forth to the sacrifice. He tells Isaac of God's command. Isaac comforts his father.
 But is prevented by an angel. Angel prevents the slaying of Isaac.
 Angel promises that Abraham's seed shall be as the stars, etc.
 Abraham and Isaac worship.

This group of plays contains none of the elaborations of the scripture story, such as the long dialogue between Abraham and Isaac at the time of the sacrifice; nor any unscriptural humorous elements, such as the shrewishness of Noah's wife, which are found in the York, Towneley, and Chester cycles. Considered as a whole, these Old Testament plays are extremely simple, almost direct paraphrases of the Bible stories. It is probably for this reason that Mr. Gayley considers this part of the so called *Ludus Coventriae* older than the other cycles.¹³ With one notable exception there is in this part of the cycle a close correspondence between Prologue and plays. Such minor differences as, for instance, (1) Cain's grumbling at giving God the best of his fruits, (2) Noah's long prayer and his proclaiming himself the second father of mankind, (3) the Angel's promise to Abraham that his seed should be as the stars, are, I believe, simply elaborations of the themes given in the Prologue and therefore negligible. The first of these occurs in the Towneley play.¹⁴ The third or a similar promise occurs in the York and Chester plays.¹⁵ In none of these cycles is Noah spoken of directly as the second progenitor of the human race; this phrase has, to be sure, an ecclesiastical flavor like that found so prominently in the Nativity plays, but the touch is too slight to be of any significance.

The Noah play contains in the story of Lamech a striking addition to the incidents provided for in the Prologue. If the play had, at the time of the writing of the Prologue, contained the Lamech episode, it is highly improbable that it would have entirely escaped mention in the Prologue. When Noah has received his commission from the Angel, we have the direction: "Hic transit Noe cum familia sua pro navi, quo exeunte, locum interludii subintret statim Lameth conductus ab adolescente, et dicens." Then follows the story of the death of Cain and after that this stage-direction: "Hic recedat Lameth et statim intrat Noe cum navi cantantes." The last part of this play, including the Lamech story, is written in a meter different from that of the rest of the group. From the beginning of the scene between Noah and the Angel to the end of the play a double quatrain in a tumbling measure is employed. This tumbling meter is a later form of verse and occurs elsewhere in the cycle only where the plays bear marked evidence of later reworking. It seems probable, therefore, that this episode was introduced into the cycle during the period of revision, and the adjoining parts of the play rewritten to suit it and to suit stationary performances. In this connection it is significant that in the genealogies written in the earlier folios of the manuscript in larger, more ornamental script, we have after the name of Lamech, in the scribe's ordinary hand which he uses in writing the text, this note: "that slew Caym, this Caym had 2 wyffys, etc."

¹³ Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, p. 139.

¹⁴ *The Towneley Mysteries*, E. E. T. S., p. 15.

¹⁵ *The York Mysteries*, p. 56; *The Chester Whitsun Plays*, E. E. T. S., p. 70.

Aside from the tumbling meter, the Old Testament plays present three regular forms of verse: (1) The prologue meter a b a b a b a b c d d d c, (2) ballad verse a a a b c c c b, (3) simple double quatrain a b a b b c b c. The prologue meter is undoubtedly the basal meter of this group and of much of the rest of the cycle. It begins with the Prologue and, with but one exception, where two simple quatrains are introduced (stanzas 15 and 16, describing the Trial of Joseph and Mary and Joseph and the Midwives) is maintained throughout the Prologue, the Fall of Lucifer, and the first part of the Fall of Man, down to the scene where God visits the garden and reproves Adam, Eve, and the Serpent. It is noteworthy that this last-mentioned scene is in a different meter, namely, the ballad measure. The prologue meter is then again resumed and carried through the rest of this play, the whole of Cain and Abel, and the first part of the Noah play, when we have the introduction of the tumbling meter as noted before. Then with the Abraham and Isaac play we have the introduction of the simple double quatrain which is to be equally fundamental throughout the cycle.

A study of the stage directions and the appearance of the manuscript in this part of the cycle seems to indicate that these Old Testament plays were at the time of the writing of this manuscript regarded as a unit and possibly presented as one play. After the Cain and Abel play, instead of the direction, "*Hic incipit apparicio Noe*," or something to that effect, we have the simple "*Introitus Noe*." This is written in the manuscript (folio 20b) opposite Cain's last speech, then a half page is left blank and the Noah play begins on the next page without any stage direction. The direction, "*Introitus Abrahe*," is written (folio 25b) after the Noah play in the same line with the direction, "*Et hic recedant cum navi*." The next play follows immediately without any break in the manuscript, the figure "5" being written in the margin. But at the end of the Abraham and Isaac play the word "*Explicit*" is written in unusually large letters and nearly a page and a half of the manuscript is left blank before the Moses play begins, which is introduced with an "*Introitus Moyses*."

The manuscript in this section presents one or two other interesting features. On folio 10 in the play of the Fall of Lucifer appears the name "*Robert Hegge Dunelmensis*," written across the top of the page. A genealogy from Adam to Noah begins on folio 10b and extends to folio 18, written, in the ornamental style noted before, across the bottom of the page. On folio 21, the page on which the Noah play begins, this genealogy is resumed and carried through from Noah to Enoch, ending on folio 22b. There is on folio 24 a description of the ark as being three hundred cubits long, fifty in breadth and thirty high, and the flood as towering over the highest mountain.

The stage directions in this group of plays are simple and written entirely in Latin.

GROUP II

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| vi. Moses and the Laws | xiii. Mary's Visit to Elizabeth |
| vii. The Prophets | xiv. The Trial of Joseph and Mary |
| viii. The Barrenness of Anna | xv. Joseph and the Midwives |
| ix. Mary in the Temple | xvi. The Adoration of the Shepherds |
| x. Mary's Betrothal | xviii. The Adoration of the Magi |
| xi. The Salutation and Conception | xix. The Purification |
| xii. Joseph's Trouble about Mary | xx. The Slaughter of the Innocents |

PROLOGUE

PLAYS

Moses and the Laws

- | | |
|--|---|
| vi. | vi. The burning bush. Moses, praying, sees the bush. (6) |
| | God commands him to remove his shoes, etc. |
| Moses receives the two tablets | God gives him the two tablets and orders him to preach to the people. |
| And preaches the ten commandments to all the people. | The ten commandments, each followed by explanations and applications, are recited in order. |

The Prophets

- | | |
|--|---|
| vii. The seventh pageant shall be of "Jesse rote," out of which doth spring our "bote." Kings and prophets shall prophesy of a queen, who shall heal our strife and win us wealth without end, in heaven to abide.
Her son shall save us by his wounds. | vii. <i>Isaiah</i> : A virgin shall conceive . . . (7)
<i>Radix Jesse</i> : A branch shall spring . . .
<i>David rex</i> : Out of my blood . . .
<i>Jeremiah</i> : God shall take lineage of priest and king.
<i>Solomon rex</i> : Temple . . . a figure of the maid.
<i>Eseckiel</i> : A gate that was sperd . . .
<i>Roboas rex</i> : Of our kindred a maid . . .
<i>Micheas</i> : Even as Eve mother of woe . . .
<i>Abias rex</i> : All our mirth cometh of a maid . . .
<i>Daniel</i> : I saw a tree; all the fiends of hell shall be afraid when that maiden's fruit thereon they see.
<i>Asa rex</i> : God will be born of a maid and be torn on the cross.
<i>Jonas</i> : On third day shall rise . . .
<i>Josophat rex</i> believes all that has been said.
<i>Abdias</i> : When he is risen, death shall be driven to damnation.
<i>Joras rex</i> : After resurrection . . . shall return to heaven.
<i>Abacuche</i> : He shall be judge in heaven.
<i>Ozias rex</i> : He shall send the spirit.
<i>Ezechias rex</i> : A maid by meekness shall bring mercy. |
|--|---|

Sophosas: That maiden's birth our wealth shall dress.

Manasses rex: The maid's child shall be prince of peace.

Baruk: All his foes shall be punished on doomsday.

Amon rex: Lord grant us mercy on that dreadful day.

The Barrenness of Anna

viii. Contemplacio's Prologue. Cryst conserve the congregation, etc. This play is of the Mother of Mercy. (8)

1. How Anna and Joachim were her parents.

2. Later she was offered to temple service.

3. Married to Joseph.

4. Salutation.

5. The meeting with Elizabeth and therewith a conclusion.

Therefore I pray you peace.

Ysakar announces *festum Encenniorum*, celebrated three times a year, etc.

Joachim goes to the Temple. He introduces himself as a righteous man, because he divides his property, giving one-third to the Temple, one-third to pilgrims, and one-third to those who live with him—as should every good curate. Anna and Joachim grieve and fear to go to the Temple because they have no child. Vow to consecrate their child, if one be given them, to the Temple service. Anna mentions the prophecy of the Virgin. Joachim goes, taking two turtle doves to offer as a sacrifice.

Service in the Temple. "Benedicta sit beata trinitas." Ysakar refuses Joachim's sacrifice, because he is childless; service continues, with an Episcopus, Minister, and Chorus.

Joachim and Anna grieve over disgrace. Joachim goes to shepherds for comfort. Joachim and Anna pray. Angel comes to Joachim, sings, "Exultet coelum laudibus," reminds him of Sarah, Rachel, and the mothers of Samson and Samuel, promises a child. Joachim and shepherds rejoice. Anna, grieving, goes to seek her husband and is comforted by the Angel.

Angel goes to heaven while Anna and Joachim rejoice.

Mary in the Temple

ix. Contemplacio's Prologue (for this one play only). (9)
We have seen the story of Joachim and Anna,

how Our Lady was conceived. Now we show you how she was offered in the Temple. She shall appear as a child of three years, and remain there, ever according to God's will, up to her fourteenth year.

Joachim and Anna bring Mary at three years of age to the Temple; she gives her consent.

They present her to Ysakar; prayers and farewells, etc.

Mary ascends fifteen steps of the Temple, reciting a psalm for each step.

Episcopus gives her five maidens to wait upon her, Meditation, Contryssyon, Compassyon, and Clennes.

And seven priests to teach her, Dyscression, Devocion, Dylexcion, and Deliberacion, Declaracion, Determynacion, Dyvynacion.

Mary offers seven petitions.

Angel ministers to her, gives her the significance of the five letters of her name. The earth quakes and an angel passes back and forth, bringing gifts. Chorus in heaven. Mary brings the bishop's gift to her sisters.

Contemplacio's Epilogue. Here you have seen the presentation of Our Lady. We pray you of your patience that we have passed these matters over so lightly. Now we shall proceed to "disponsacion," which was fourteen years after this. The parliament of heaven and how God's son became man and the Salutation after shall be.

Mary's Betrothal

x. (Written over another figure.) Abyacar (Abiathar) commands that all maidens who are fourteen years of age be brought before him.

Joachim and Anna bring forth Mary.

Mary wishes to remain chaste.

The bishop asks God for guidance and the Angel tells him to send for David's kindred and bid them present their rods.

x. Ysakar issues the command that all maidens who are fourteen years of age be brought before him.

1()

Joachim and Anna prepare to obey the bishop's command. They bring Mary to the Temple, but there is no allusion throughout the play to her having lived in the Temple.

Mary tells the story of her parents' vow and says that she wishes to live in chastity.

Bishop prays for advice and is told to send for the sons of David and to bid them present their rods.

x. (A new division also numbered 10.) A messenger is sent.

The presentation of the wands. When Joseph offers his rod, it bursts into bloom.

He pledges his wife to live in chastity.

The bishop gives her three maidens that she may have some comfort.

The messengers go. Joseph grumbles but is finally persuaded to come to the Temple.

The presentation of the rods. Joseph does not at first present his rod, but when he does so, it bursts into bloom.

Upon being told that he is to wed Mary, he protests that he is too old, but is finally prevailed upon. He pledges her to live in chastity.

Marriage ceremony performed by bishop. He gives Mary three maidens: Susanne, Rebecca, Sephore, each of whom in turn expresses her willingness to go.

Mary bids her parents farewell.

Joseph goes to prepare a home, bids Mary wait there and worship God.

He returns and brings Mary to Nazareth, says he must leave her again and labor for their sustenance in a far country.

Salutation and Conception

x1.

xi. Contemplacio's Prologue. For four thousand six hundred and four years man has suffered for sin in hell. Now may God have mercy and remember the prayer of Isaiah, etc.

The Four Daughters of God. Virtutes: "Our office is to present prayers. Mercy we cry, etc." They speak of the fall of Lucifer. Deus says he will prepare a way of salvation. The four daughters of God dispute. The Son comes forth and suggests that one who is guiltless must die as an atonement for man's sin.

Council of the Trinity, in which the plans for man's salvation are made.

God sends Gabriel to Mary. The Son says he is to be born of Mary. The Holy Ghost says that he will perform this miracle.

Gabriel salutes Mary. Holy Ghost descends. They depart.

Gabriel salutes Our Lady. *The three maidens hear voices but see no one. The angel says her son shall be called Jesus.*

Joseph's Trouble about Mary.

xii. (The word "hellenthe" crossed out.) Joseph returns.

xii. Joseph returns, says he can not see Mary's face for the light that surrounds it. Mary explains that it is ordained by God that whoever beholds her shall be "grettly steryd to vertu." (12)

He is troubled; leaves
Mary, thinking never
to return.

An angel tells him the
story and Joseph
goes back.

Joseph realizes Mary's condition and, after he has
debated whether or not to expose her before the
bishop, resolves to leave her forever.

Mary prays that God will convince him. God com-
mands an angel to visit Joseph.

The angel explains to Joseph; he returns home
and is reconciled.

Mary's Visit to Elizabeth

xiii. Mary wishes to go to visit Elizabeth, and Joseph (13)
gives his consent.

Contemplacio's Prologue. King David ordained
twenty-four priests to serve in the Temple. They
were called "summi sacerdotes." One was prince
of priests, Zachariah; his wife was Elizabeth; the
story of the annunciation to Elizabeth and how
Zacharias was made dumb.

Mary and Joseph arrive at the house of Elizabeth.
Elizabeth greets Mary as the Mother of God.
Each of the women tells the story of her an-
nunciation.

Mary repeats the *Magnificat* in Latin and Elizabeth
translates it, sentence for sentence, into English.

Mary says she will stay with Elizabeth three months
until the child shall be born.

Joseph greets Zacharias. Elizabeth explains why
Zacharias can not speak, and Joseph seeks to
comfort him.

Joseph and Mary go home. Elizabeth and Zach-
arias go to the Temple.

Contemplacio's Epilogue. Says he will give a con-
clusion (as promised in Contemplacio's prologue
to the whole group of plays). Here we see how
the *Ave Maria* was made. The Angel said, "Ave,
gratia plena, Dominus tecum, Benedicta tu in
mulieribus." ¹⁶ And Elizabeth said, "Et benedictus
fructus ventris tui." ¹⁷ Thus the church added
Mary and Jesus. Who says Our Lady's psalter
daily for a year shall have pardon ten thousand
eight hundred years.

Mary remained with Elizabeth three months
until John was born, and then Zacharias re-
gained his speech. They composed the *Benedictus*
and the *Magnificat*. Then Our Lady took her
leave. We thank you; with *Ave* we began and
with *Ave* is our conclusion.

¹⁶ Halliwell, p. 112.

¹⁷ Halliwell, p. 126.

Trial of Joseph and Mary

- Den calls the court; calls a long list of names, John Jurdon, Geffry Gyle, etc.
- xiv. This pageant shall be of the trial of Joseph and Mary.
How they were slandered (a simple quatrain),
And must go to their purgation.
- xiv. "Hic intrabit pagentum de purgatione Mariae et Joseph."
- Two detractors, "Bakbytere" and "Reyse-sclaundyr," meet and tell the gossip about Mary, resolving to spread the news in all quarters.
- The court scene. The Episcopus (called in the stage-direction Abizachar, as in Prologue to Mary's Betrothal), having heard the slander, sends for Joseph and Mary. They are summoned by Den. Trial.
- Joseph goes through the purgation ceremony and proves his innocence.
- Mary goes through the purgation and proves her innocence.
- First detractor drinks potion and falls to the ground. All kneel to Mary.

Joseph and the Midwives

- xv. Joseph goes after midwives (a simple quatrain).
- xv. Joseph and Mary start for Bethlehem. (15)
The Cherry-tree episode.
They are directed by a citizen of Bethlehem to the stable where they find shelter.
Joseph goes for midwives; Salome and Zelomye return with him.
- When they arrive, they can not enter the house for the brightness of the light in it.
- Joseph finally enters and finds that the child is already born.
- Test of Mary's virginity; Salome's punishment and forgiveness.

The Adoration of the Shepherds

- Angels shall sing.
- xvi. Angels sing, "Gloria in excelsis." (16)
Three shepherds, two of whom are called "Boosras" and "Maunfras," speak of the great light they have seen and speak of the prophecies, Balaam, Moses and the Law, Amos, and Daniel.
- Shepherds shall hear of the birth of Christ,
And shall visit Him
- Angels' song repeated. The shepherds seek to imitate the song.
- They go to seek Christ, singing on the way, "Stella coeli extirpavit."
- With reverence and worship.
- They adore Christ (a series of dignified verses of adoration; no gifts).
- Joseph bids them spread the tidings, which they promise to do, and take their farewell.

The Adoration of the Magi

xv. (The attempt to correct the numbering in the Prologue is given up here.)

Three kings shall come with gold, myrrh, and frankincense.

King Herod's steward sees them and brings them into the king's presence.

The kings of Cologne tell Herod of their mission and of the star, and of how they intend to worship Christ that day.

xviii. (The number xvii is omitted in the MS.)

(17)

Herod gives a long, boastful speech, introducing and praising himself. He leaves to go into his hall to change his garments.

The three kings meet; introduce themselves to each other: first, Baltazare from Saba, bearing gold; second, Melchizar from Tarys, bearing incense; third, Jasper from Ypotan and Archage, bearing myrrh.

Herod in another boastful speech brags of his beauty and fine apparel as well as his power. He has heard that a child is born in Bethlehem. He sends his steward out to see if there is any trouble abroad.

The steward finds the three kings sleeping under a tree, and he brings them to Herod's court. They tell Herod of their mission, of the star, of Balaam's prophecy, etc. Herod bids them seek the child and report to him.

The kings take their leave, while Herod expresses his wrath. The kings see the star again.

They adore Christ, offering him gifts. They prepare to go back to Herod.

On the way they fall asleep and the angel warns them. The kings awake, tell of the vision, resolving not to go back to Herod.

The Purification

xix. Simeon Justus, priest in Jerusalem, prays that he may see the Savior before he dies. An angel reassures him. (18)

Simeon and Anna rejoice; they go to the Temple, prophesy Christ's death, etc.

Joseph and Mary come to the Temple. Simeon and Anna hail Christ. "Nunc dimittis servum tuum."

Service in Temple. They burn four candles in honor of Christ. The child offered on the altar.

Joseph pays five pence to take the child back again.

Capellanus gives them back the child.

Mary offers the fowls on the altar.

Slaughter of Innocents and Death of Herod

xvi.

xx. Senescallus returns and reports that the Magi have fled. (19)

Herod, angry, sends soldiers out to slay the children,

But Jesus is not to be found, for in response to the angel's warning, he has gone to Egypt.

The children are torn from their mothers' arms and slain.

xvii. The soldiers bring the slaughtered children before Herod. Herod rejoices and orders a feast.

Death enters,

And the devil takes his soul.

Herod raves (a long alliterative speech). He sends soldiers to slay all the children in Bethlehem under two years of age. Two soldiers leave.

An angel appears to Joseph and warns him. He takes Mary and the child to Egypt.

"Tunc ibunt milites ad pueros." Two women lament the loss of their children.

The soldiers report. Herod is pleased and orders a feast.

The banquet scene, merry-making. Death enters, says he is sent by God to slay Herod. Herod bids his soldiers rejoice. The minstrels play.

Mors slays Herod and the two soldiers.

The Devil carries them off. Mors moralizes.

In this part of the cycle we meet with greater complications and more difficult problems. The evidences of revision are much more marked than in the Old Testament plays. Four of the plays are not provided for at all in the Prologue, and it seems probable that they have been added as a whole to the cycle. Many of the plays that are demanded by the Prologue bear distinct evidences of having been reworked to such an extent that they are practically new. For the sake of clearness it seems best to treat each play separately, discussing its relation to the general Prologue, its meter and stage-directions, and any peculiarities that may appear in the manuscript.

Moses and the Laws

The direction, "Incipit Moyses," is written very conspicuously in large letters at the top of the page, a thing which seems to indicate that the first five plays had constituted a separate unit, and that this is the beginning of a new group. This would place the *Processus Prophetarum*, of which this play is essentially a part, with the Nativity group rather than with the Old Testament plays.¹⁸ This play, however, ends with the direction, "Explicit Moyses," indicating that it stood alone as a separate unit.

The stage-directions of the play are all very simple and written entirely in Latin, a thing which leads one to infer that the play has kept its early and rather primitive form. The meter too is simple. With but one very minor irregularity of rhyme, where a couplet precedes the regular stanza, the

¹⁸ In this connection cf. Dr. Hardin Craig's article, *The Origin of the Old Testament Plays*, in *Mod. Phil.* x (April, 1913).

double quatrain is used throughout. There is nothing in the style or action of the play to indicate that it has been revised by a later hand. But the introduction of the burning bush in a play of the Laws presents an interesting complication. This incident would properly belong in an Exodus play, and its presence here may be a confusion of the Exodus with a play of the Laws. The Chester cycle has no episode of the burning bush; but in the York and Towneley, where the incident occurs, it is found in the Exit from Egypt and the Pharaoh respectively. The play of the Ten Commandments occurs in the Towneley cycle in the play called *Processus Prophetarum*, in the Chester, in the *Pagina de Mose et Rege Balaak et Balaam Propheta*. York, having no regular *Processus Prophetarum*, has also no play of Moses and the Laws.

The Prophets

Although this play does not begin with an "Incipit," it ends with the direction, "Explicit Jesse," which is the only stage-direction in the play. It presents no peculiarities of manuscript except that a genealogy of Mary, similar to the genealogies of the first group, begins on folio 37 and is continued on folio 37b.

The play is written in the double quatrain measure of the preceding play. From the time Solomon enters each character speaks only four lines, but the single quatrains thus formed can in every case be united to form the typical double quatrain, a b a b b c b c.

It will be noted that the Prologue states that prophets shall prophesy, not of Christ, but of a "qwene the whiche xal staunche our stryff and moote"; and an examination of the prophecies will show that the emphasis lies upon the birth of the Virgin, and not of Christ. The introduction of thirteen kings, all of whom announce themselves as progenitors of Mary, shows this tendency, as well as the fact that there are no less than fifteen direct references to the Virgin in these prophecies. In the Towneley *Processus Prophetarum* Mary is mentioned directly only once, in the prophecy of Daniel,¹⁹ and there the main part of the prophecy concerns Christ. The Towneley Shepherds' play introduces the traditional prophecy from Isaiah, and also mentions the prefiguration of the Virgin in the burning bush. But neither here nor in the cycles of York and Chester is the attention so constantly directed to the Virgin. The fact that the Prologue specifically provides for prophecies of this nature indicates that the unusual interest in Virgin Mary was a peculiarity of the cycle originally and not to be ascribed wholly to the period of revision.

The following table of the prophecies found in the four cycles will serve to show more clearly how *Ludus Coventriae* is distinguished from the other plays.

¹⁹ *The Towneley Mysteries*, E. E. T. S., p. 64, I, 232.

THE PROPHET PLAY				
	COVENTRY	YORK (Prologue in Annunciation)	TOWNELEY	CHESTER
Isaiah	Quod virgo concipiet et pariet filium nomen Emanuel.	Propter hoc dabit dom- inus ipse vobis signum. Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium. . . . His name shall be Emanuel . . . he shall sit on the throne of David. Zelus domini faciet hoc, etc.		A maiden shall conceive and bear a child . . . and he shall be called Emanuel.
Radix Jesse	Egredietur virga de ra- dice Jesse et flos de radice ejus ascendet.	Egredietur virga de Jesse, etc. The rod is Mary; the flower, Christ (spoken by Isaiah).	(See Isaiah's prophecy in the Shepherds' play in this cycle.)	
David rex	Out of my blood shall spring our bote. A clean maid shall be a mother, etc. "Ageyns the devellys with fals illusyon, with regalle power to make man free."		He will light from the tower of heaven to be men's savior, and then return to be lord over all. Kings shall worship him and bring him rich gifts, etc. Ostende nobis domine misericordiam tuam et salutari tuum da nobis. Till the lord come we must go to hell, etc.	De summo coelo egressio ejus, et occursum ejus ad summum ejus. . . . Later shall judge the earth.

THE PROPHET PLAY--Continued			
	COVENTRY	YORK	TOWNSELY
			CHRYSEY
Jeremiah	God will take lineage of priest and king and buy us all from our offence.		(See the Shepherds' play in this cycle.)
Solomon rex	I am the second king of this root of Jesse. I built a temple that is to prefigure the maid who is to be the mother of the great Messiah.		Deducunt oculi mei lacrimas per diem et noctem, et non taceant contritione magna contrita est virgo filia populi mei et plaga.
Ezekiel	A gate was truly closed and no man but a prince might go therein.		Vidi portam in domo Domini clausam et dixit angelus ad me 'porta haec non aperietur, sed clausa erit.'
Roboam rex	The third king of Jesse root. Of our kindred a maid shall overcome Satan.		
Michael	Even as Eve was the mother of woe, so shall this maid be the mother of bliss.		Tu Bethlechem, terra Juda nequaquam minima es in principibus Juda; ex te enim exiit, Dux, qui reget populum meum Israel.

THE PROPHET PLAY—Continued

	COVENTRY	YORK	TOWNLEY	CHESTER
Abias rex	All our mirth comes of a maid.			
Daniel	I saw a tree and all the fiends of hell shall be afraid when the maiden's fruit thereon they see.		Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum cessabit uncio vestra. Because of Adam's fall we all endure sorrow, but God will take pity on us and send his son as a ransom. He shall be born of a maiden and save all that are lost.	Clamavi de tribulacione mea ad Dominum et exaudivit de ventre. Inferi clamavi et exaudivisti vocem meam et projecisti me.
Asa rex	God will be born of a maid and to bring us to bliss will be torn and rent on a tree.			
Jonah	On the third day he shall rise from death as prefigured in me.			
Josophat rex	I am the sixth king of Jesse root, and I believe all that my progenitors have said.			
Obadiah	When he is risen again, death shall be driven to endless damnation.			
Joras rex	Seventh king. When he is risen he shall return to heaven.			

THE PROPHET PLAY—Continued

	COVENTRY	YORK	TOWNELEY	CHESTER
Habakkuk	He shall sit in heaven as judge over us.			
Ozias rex	Also sprung of Jesse rote. He shall send his spirit to his disciples. He will send his spirit on young and old.	Likens Christ to the dew that falls from heaven.		Effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem et prophetabunt filii vestri.
Joathas rex	I am the ninth king. From my kindred shall come a man who shall save mankind.			
Haggai	He will save his sheep from the wolf.			
Achas rex	I worshipped idols until Isaiah rebuked me and said that a maid should give birth to the Messiah.			
Ozias	Agrees with Isaiah that a virgin shall bear Emanuel.			
Hosea		Ergo quasi ros et virgo Israel germinabit sicut lilium.		
Hezekiah rex	The eleventh king. A maid by meekness shall bring mercy.			
Sophosas	A maiden's birth shall bring our wealth.			
Manasseh rex	Twelfth king. A maiden's child shall be prince of peace.			

THE PROPHET PLAY--Continued

	COVENTRY	YORK	TOWNELEY	CHESTER
Baruk	His foemen shall receive their reward at the judgment.			
Amon rex	The last of the kings prays God to grant them all grace.			
Amos		Deus pater disposuit sa- lutem fieri in medio terre, etc. He was to be the son of a maiden. She was wed in order to deceive the devil.		
Isaac		Quoniam in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes. God himself said this to Abraham. Orate celi desuper, Isaac prayed for the dew of heaven, etc. . . . A seed that shall save us, which was the Holy Ghost, that came to a chaste maiden.		
Jacob		Non auferetur sceptrum de Judas, veniat qui mittendus est. Et ipse erit expectacio gen- cium.		

THE PROPHET PLAY—Continued

	COVENTRY	YORK	TOWNELEY	CHESTER
John the Baptist		Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui preparabit viam tuam ante te. Ego quidem batizo in aqua vos autem batiz- abimini spiritu sancto.	Prophetam excitabit deus de fratribus vestris. Omnia anima que non audieret prophetam il- lum extirminabitur de populo suo. Nemo propheta sine hon- ora in patria sua. Iudicii signum tellus su- dore madescit e celo advenit per seda fu- turus. Scilicet in carne presens ut iudicet or- bem. . . . The earth shall be burned. Hill and dale shall be ev- ened.	To Jacob's blood and Is- rael, God shall send joy and heale; And as a lyon in his weale, Christ shalbe haused hye, And rise also in noble araye, As a prynce to wyn great paye, Overcome his enemies. Orietur stella ex Jacob et exurget homo de Israel et confunget omnes duces aliegen- arum, et erit omnis terra professio ejus.
Moses				
Sibyl				
Balaam				

PROPHECIES IN THE SHEPHERDS' PLAYS

	COVENTRY	YORK	TOWNELEY I
Moses	A child shall be born of a maid, torn on a tree and slain to deliver those who are lost.		Saw him in the burning bush which prefigured her holy virginity.
Balaam (See Chester prophets, above)	Out of Jacob shall shine a "skye" and with his blood he shall save many.	A star shall shine and signify that he shall be born of a maid and save us by his blood.	
Amos	A fruit sweeter than "bawmys brethe." His death shall slay the death of our souls and draw us from hell.		
Daniel	The wise God to save us from woe shall open his heaven and visit a maiden.		He alone is God's son, his seat and throne shall be our stay. (Daniel is in a group with six others, all of whom give same prophecy. See below.)
Isaiah		<i>Hosea and Isaiah together:</i> A prince without peer should descend to a lady to save mankind which is lost. He shall be born in Bethlehem.	He shall be a prince, sit upon the throne of David. Born of a virgin of the root of Jesse which shall bring forth a flower, etc.

Sibyl

Spoke of him.

Nebuchadnezzar

Saw him in the fire with the
three Jews.

Jeremiah

Also spoke of him.

Habakkuk

Elijah

Elizabeth and Zachariah

David

John the Baptist

Daniel

Prophesied that he is God's
son alone.
His seat and throne shall be
our stay.

Virgil

Iam nova progenies celo demit-
itur alto. Iam rediet virgo,
redeunt saturnia regna.

After these two plays, which are comparatively simple, we have the introduction of an Expositor who is called *Contemplacio*. He recites, before the play proper of Anna and Joachim begins, a general prologue promising to present to the people (1) the story of Anna and Joachim, (2) Mary's presentation in the Temple, (3) her betrothal, (4) the story of the Salutation, and, finally, (5) Mary's visit to Elizabeth. In connection with this last play he promises a conclusion. Then follow these five plays dealing with the life of the Virgin which in general tone and style are very different from the plays we have examined so far. The ecclesiastical element is very prominent in these plays, and there can be little doubt that they were introduced into the cycle at some time later than the writing of the Prologue. I do not think, however, that an entirely new group of plays was simply incorporated as a whole into the cycle without any modification. Some of the plays indicate clearly that old material has been combined with new. The Prologue provides for plays on two of these subjects, Mary's Betrothal and the Salutation. The other three plays promised by *Contemplacio* are not provided for in the Prologue, and in the case of the first two, the Barrenness of Anna and Mary's Presentation, there can be little doubt that they are entirely new. The Visit to Elizabeth, however, bears internal evidence of the combination of two versions.

This *Contemplacio* does not appear again after this group of Virgin plays and is probably, as Collier states, one of the later additions to the cycle.²⁰

With this group of plays the tumbling meter makes its reappearance, and here, too, we have for the first time the introduction of English stage-directions. Throughout the whole group of plays dealing with the Nativity, English stage-directions are used only in these Virgin plays and in the play of the Purification which is also unprovided for in the Prologue. These points will be discussed more specifically in connection with the individual plays.

The Barrenness of Anna

This play is taken up largely with services in the Temple, the singing of hymns, sequences, etc. It is distinctly ecclesiastical in tone and is written entirely in the tumbling measure, with a great deal of alliteration in the first part of the play. There are two or three little irregularities of rhyme, but the play, taken as a whole, employs the rhyming scheme of the double quatrain. The fact that it is not accounted for in the Prologue, taken together

²⁰ The one instance in the Herod play of the Passion where the expositor is called *Contemplacio* is, I think, hardly to be considered as a reappearance of that character. It seems probable that it suggested itself to the scribe that it would be well to call the expositor in the later play by the same name as the similar character in the earlier group.

with this use of the tumbling meter, seems to indicate beyond any doubt that the whole play is an interpolation.

Here, too, we have our first English stage-direction, "There they xall synge this sequens, 'Benedicta, etc.,' and in that tyme Ysaker with his ministeres insensythe the autere and than thei make her offryng, and Isaker seyth, etc." And from this point English stage-directions are used freely, though not exclusively, throughout the *Contemplacio* group. In this play and the following the bishop is given the name Ysaker, but in the general Prologue to the tenth play, as well as in the play of the Trial of Joseph and Mary, he is called Abyacar. So that it would seem that Abyacar is his cycle name. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the manuscript (folio 37b) in the genealogy there is a note to the effect that Ysaker was the father of Anne. The name Ysaker (Issachar) is derived from the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*; Abiathar from *Pseudo-Matthew*.

The Presentation of Mary in the Temple

This play, like the preceding, is not provided for in the general Prologue and comes into the cycle as entirely new. It also is filled with ecclesiastical material, such as the fifteen psalms that Mary recites when she ascends the fifteen steps in the Temple, the allegorical names given to her maids and to the seven priests who are to instruct her, the significance of the five letters in her name, and so forth.

The manuscript shows no distinct division between these two plays; *Contemplacio's* introductory speech²¹ follows immediately upon Anne's last speech in the preceding play, and the figure 9 also stands in the margin here. Then we have, following immediately, the direction, "Here Joachym and Anna, with oure lady between hem, etc." After this there is a short space left blank before Joachim's speech, "Blyssyd be oure Lord . . ." which begins at the top of the next folio, 49b.

The stage-directions are in both English and Latin. The meter, like that of the former play, is the tumbling measure. The stanzas are largely double quatrains, but with occasional single quatrains, particularly in the part where Mary recites her fifteen psalms. *Contemplacio's* speech at the end of the play shows a confusion, as far as rhyme scheme is concerned, of the quatrain with the prologue stanza thus: a b a b c d c d b e b e f g g g f.

Contemplacio introduces this play with a prologue that reviews the play of Anna and Joachim before it tells what is to follow in this play. At the end of the play *Contemplacio* gives an epilogue reviewing this one play and also introducing the two which are to follow it. In the manuscript the figure 10 is written opposite this second part of *Contemplacio's* speech, and if this

²¹ Halliwell, p. 79.

part be regarded as a prologue to the following play, each of the five plays mentioned in Contemplacio's first general prologue are specially introduced by that character. And, regarding the first four lines of his prologue to this play of the Presentation of Mary²² as an epilogue to the play of Anna and Joachim, three of the five plays have a conclusion or epilogue recited by this same Contemplacio.

This character would not appear on one pageant and recite his epilogue and then suddenly appear on the next and recite a prologue to that play. There are no directions to this effect, nor does it seem possible that he could do so. Moreover, the characters of these five plays are much the same. Anna and Joachim appear in the first three; Mary plays in all of them; Joseph appears in the Betrothal and the Visit to Elizabeth; the bishop Ysakar or Abyacar appears in the first three. So that evidently these five plays, as they now stand, were acted on the same stage as one continuous performance, whether on a pageant or a fixed stage.

Mary's Betrothal

The material covered in this play is provided for by the general Prologue, but it is divided into two pageants, one of which, originally numbered 8, treats of Mary's appearance in the Temple for espousal; and the other, originally numbered 9, treats of the presentation of the rods. As they now stand they are both numbered 10. It seems that the scribe attempted at first to make the numbering of the Prologue agree with the plays. He soon abandoned his attempt, however, as may be seen by looking at the preceding table of comparison between Prologue and plays.

The first section of the Prologue carries the action, from the bishop's proclamation that the daughters of the Jews shall be presented for marriage to the angel's command that David's kindred shall be sent for and that they shall carry white rods in their hands. The second part continues the action, presenting the blossoming of Joseph's rod, and so on to the marriage. The actual incidents of the play correspond exactly with those mentioned in the Prologue, as far as the latter goes. But there seems to be an elaboration of certain scenes introducing church ceremonies (such as that of the marriage ceremony, which is given in detail) that are not in keeping with the general simplicity of the earlier plays of the cycle. The Prologue ends with the statement that the bishop gives Mary three maidens to live with her and wait upon her. These maidens are given names in the play, Rebecca, Susanne, and Sephore. Then the play goes on to relate how Joseph left Mary at the Temple, went to Nazareth, rented a house, and came back to bring his wife to their new home. He then leaves her again to go into a far country to earn

²² Halliwell, p. 79.

means for their sustenance. Of all this there is no mention in the general Prologue.

Another notable circumstance is that, whereas in the preceding play Mary is left at the Temple with the understanding that she is to remain there until her fourteenth year, in this play she is brought to the Temple by her parents and no mention is made of her having been there before. So also in his epilogue to the preceding play, Contemplacio speaks of this play as taking place fourteen years after the Presentation instead of eleven years.

The story of the presentation of the rods is old material and generally known throughout the Middle Ages. Though it is not actually presented in any of the other cycles, it is mentioned both in the Towneley and York cycles.²³ This circumstance, together with the closeness of parallel between the Prologue and the play, makes it evident that the play as a whole does not belong to the period of revision. What probably took place seems to me to be this: When the scribe came to add a new Virgin play, he found in the old cycle a play on this same subject of the Betrothal of Mary which corresponded pretty closely with the section of the Virgin play dealing with this subject; so he used the old play as a basis and possibly borrowed little touches here and there from the Virgin play. The elaboration of the marriage ceremony and the adding of the incidents which follow may be accounted for in this way.

A study of the metrical arrangement of the play supports such a conclusion. There is very little use of the tumbling line which is elsewhere characteristic of the Virgin play. It appears distinctly only in the scenes where the bishop consults with his minister²⁴ and where he pronounces the marriage vows for Joseph and Mary. The main body of the play is in the prologue meter, and other parts are written in the simple double quatrain stanza.

In this same connection it is interesting to note that all the stage-directions of this play are in Latin.

This section of the manuscript also presents some puzzling problems. Folios 51b, 52b, 53b are blank, while on folio 51 Joseph's speech, beginning "In gret labore my lyff I lede," and ending "To some man dowty and bold,"²⁵ is written in a later hand. It is also out of place and should be inserted, as noted in the manuscript, after line 7 on folio 53.

The Salutation and Conception

With this play we have the reappearance both of the ecclesiastical tone and of English stage-directions. The general Prologue to the cycle mentions Gabriel's visit to the Virgin and also states that the three maidens waited upon her, heard the conversation between Mary and the Angel but

²³ *The Towneley Mysteries*, E. E. T. S., p. 93. *York*, p. 103.

²⁴ Halliwell, p. 93.

²⁵ Halliwell, pp. 94-95.

saw no one. The three maidens do not appear at all in the play as we now have it, but the greater part of the action is taken up with Contemplacio's explanation of how mankind had suffered four thousand six hundred and four years, and the debate between the four daughters of God, the council of the Trinity, Gabriel's instructions, and so forth, all of which must undoubtedly belong to our ecclesiastical Virgin play. This ecclesiastical note so pervades the whole play that it would almost seem as if none of the original cycle play had been preserved and that this play, like the Barrenness of Anna and Mary's Presentation, had been substituted entirely from the Virgin play. Mr. Hemingway reaches much the same conclusion.²⁸ In this connection it is interesting to note that the greater part of the play, beginning with the speech of Justice²⁹ to the end of the play, is written in a different hand.

The running meter makes its appearance in this play in two instances, the first three stanzas of Contemplacio's speech and the last stanza of Gabriel's speech.³⁰ Otherwise the play as a whole is written in simple double and single quatrains.

Joseph's Trouble about Mary

Joseph's return was not mentioned in Contemplacio's prologue, nor does Contemplacio appear in this play. It probably does not belong to the Virgin play, but to the original cycle. The incidents are simple and there is a comparatively consistent relationship with the Prologue, although little touches here and there, such as the halo surrounding Mary's face upon Joseph's return, seem to have an ecclesiastical quality.

The play has no stage-directions and the basal meter is the prologue stanza. The first twenty lines of the play seem to be a confusion of single and double quatrains. Then, beginning at the bottom of page 117 in Halliwell's edition to the last stanza on page 119, with two minor irregularities of rhyme, we find the prologue meter. This verse form is again resumed in the last thirteen lines on page 121, where the angel speaks to Joseph, and also in the last stanza on page 122, where Mary and Joseph are reconciled. After the first four lines of page 119, we have the appearance for the first time of our fifth type of verse, a b b a b b c b c. It is carried on from this point, with three exceptions where we have the prologue stanza, to the last stanza of the play. The last twelve lines show the same sort of confusion of quatrains that we find in the first part of the play. There is no appearance of the running meter.

²⁸ Hemingway, *English Mystery Plays*, *Intro.* p. xxv. For a comparison of this play with others, see Hemingway, *Intro.* p. xlv; and Pollard, *English Mystery Plays*, Ed. 1898, pp. xxix, 226; and Miss Tupper's *Four Daughters of God*, *Intro.* 1907.
²⁹ Halliwell, p. 121. ³⁰ Halliwell, pp. 118, 120, 122.

Mary's Visit to Elizabeth

There is no provision for the Visit to Elizabeth in the general Prologue, and the play as it now stands belongs largely to the ecclesiastical play. Nevertheless, it seems improbable that the scene should have been entirely omitted. It seems possible to me that the section of the general Prologue devoted to this play was omitted in the rewriting that took place when the Virgin play was added, or at some earlier period of revision. The Prologue bears evidence of having been tampered with here, since the next two sections, introducing the Trial of Joseph and Mary and Joseph and the Midwives are written in simple quatrains instead of the regular prologue stanza. Moreover, although the birth of Jesus actually takes place in the play of Joseph and the Midwives, it is ascribed by the Prologue to the play of the Shepherds. From its position in the liturgy it is very probable that the play of the Shepherds stood in general for the Nativity.²⁹ I think it probable that the two plays which follow the Visit to Elizabeth, with their sections in the Prologue, are additions to the original Corpus Christi cycle, though not parts of the Virgin play, since this ends with the Visit to Elizabeth.

The play of Mary's Visit, as it now stands, bears internal evidence that two plays have been combined to form it. After Elizabeth has greeted Mary with the *Ave Maria* and they have recited the *Magnificat*, Mary says that she will stay with Elizabeth three months. Then almost immediately she and Joseph take their leave. At the end of the play, however, Contemplacio says that Mary remained with Elizabeth. So that it would appear that in one version, probably that of the original cycle, Mary and Joseph left as they do here; but that in the ecclesiastical play they remained with Elizabeth three months, until John was born.

The inconsistency of the play of Mary's Visit to Elizabeth indicates not only that this play is made up from two different sources, but also furnishes evidence to substantiate our theory as to the composition of the whole group. In the Virgin play Mary remained with Elizabeth three months, until John was born. But John was six months older than Jesus, so that in this play the visit must have been thought of as taking place immediately after the Salutation. In the original cycle, on the other hand, we believe that the plays came in this order, namely, Betrothal, Salutation, Joseph's Return, Visit to Elizabeth. Now, in the Betrothal, a play preserved largely in its original form, Joseph tells Mary that he must leave her to be gone nine months.³⁰ When he returns, before the Visit to Elizabeth, he finds that Mary is "great with child." So that in the earlier form of the cycle the Salutation must have taken place very shortly after the Betrothal, and the plays

²⁹ Cf. Hemingway, p. 260.

³⁰ Halliwell, p. 104.

of Joseph's Trouble and the Visit to Elizabeth, shortly before the birth of Christ. Thus it appears, beyond question, that the play of the Betrothal and that part of the Visit to Elizabeth which indicates that Mary did not remain with Elizabeth, are consistent with each other and belong to the earlier form of the cycle. Mary's speech in the Visit to Elizabeth⁸¹ indicates clearly that a part of the present play of the Visit to Elizabeth belongs with the Betrothal and the Return of Joseph, thus proving, beyond a doubt, not only that the play of the Visit is composite in structure, but that there was such a play in the original cycle.

Contemplacio's epilogue to this play is the conclusion promised in his first prologue. It is didactic and is concerned for the most part with the worship of the Virgin. Hemingway calls attention to the inaccuracy of the English translations from the Latin in this play and cites it as a proof that the original plays were written in English.⁸²

Another argument in favor of a stationary stage for this Virgin play appears here in the stage-direction, "*Et sic transiet circa placeam.*" That is, Joseph and Mary walk about *the place* going to Elizabeth's house, while Contemplacio speaks his prologue. There is also an English stage-direction in this play.

The play begins in the tumbling meter, which is carried through to the twenty-fourth line of page 128 in Halliwell. Beginning here, however, and continuing to Contemplacio's epilogue, the simple double quatrain stanza is used. This is the part that seems to belong to the original play and not to the Virgin play. The first and last stanzas in Contemplacio's epilogue are in tumbling verse, but it seems doubtful if those between are.

This play marks the end of the Virgin cycle.

The Trial of Joseph and Mary

This play is very different in tone and spirit from the other plays in the cycle. The interest seems to center upon the coarse horse-play of the slanderers, which must have been a later development, but surely not ecclesiastical in origin. The Prologue to this play, as noted before, is a simple quatrain. It does not adequately represent the play, but simply speaks of the fact that Joseph and Mary were slandered and went to their purgation. The purgation scene itself is simple and reverent enough and may possibly have been a part of the original cycle.

The introductory speech of Den, with its long list of alliterative and allegorical names, is written into the manuscript in a different hand before the figure 14 occurs and belongs probably to a later period. It is followed by the direction, "*Hic intrabit pagentum de purgatione, etc.*" This is the only place in the cycle proper where a play is introduced as a pageant.

⁸¹ Halliwell, p. 124, ll. 13-16.

⁸² Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays*, p. 255.

The stage-directions are all written in Latin. Metrically also the play is very simple. Den's introductory speech represents a return to the linked ballad measure, a a a b c c c b, but is a little irregular. The rest of the play is written in simple double quatrains, ending with a simple quatrain. There is no appearance of tumbling meter.

The return of the name "Abiyacher" for the bishop rather than "Ysaker" in this play is interesting and may be regarded as an additional piece of evidence that this play does not belong to the Virgin play. However, the name is only written in parenthetically in one of the stage-directions and nowhere in the play is the bishop called Abiyacher. He is always termed Episcopus. It is possible that when the scribe was writing this play he noticed that in the general Prologue to the play of the Betrothal the bishop had been called by this name, and so he ascribed it to him here.

Joseph and the Midwives

This play may have come into the cycle at the same time as the preceding play, for like that play it is represented in the general Prologue by a simple quatrain. This Prologue simply states that Joseph shall go for midwives. But the play presents the journey to Bethlehem (including the Cherry-tree episode), the birth of Christ, the punishment of Salome, etc. The Cherry-tree episode²³ is written in the tumbling meter, whereas the rest of the play is in simple double quatrains. This appearance of the tumbling meter, as well as the use of the legends from the life of Mary, the mentioning of the bright light that surrounds the stable, etc., might relate this play to the Virgin play. But there is no appearance of Contemplacio, or of English stage-directions; nor does it contain any distinctly ecclesiastical material, such as church ritual and elaborate ceremonies. I think it can hardly belong to that play, but that it came into the cycle earlier from some other source, as suggested before in the discussion of Mary's Visit to Elizabeth.

The Adoration of the Shepherds

With the exception that the Prologue provides for the actual nativity in this play, an explanation of which has been suggested before, the correspondence between Prologue and play is very close. The tone of the play is dignified and reverent in contrast to the Shepherds' plays of other cycles. It seems that the one case where the shepherds seek to imitate the angels' song must be a later borrowing, for it is out of keeping with the rest of the play. This part of the play presents an interruption of the meter which would seem to confirm such a theory. The main body of the play is written in the ballad measure, a a a b c c c b, with two stanzas in the prologue meter;

²³ Halliwell, pp. 145, 146.

but the part in which the shepherds imitate the angels is in single quatrains.

As in the Towneley and York cycles, the shepherds here also quote from the prophecies.⁸⁴ In the Chester play⁸⁵ one of the shepherds says, "The prophets did tell thou shold be our succour." But there is no direct quotation of prophecies.⁸⁶

The Adoration of the Magi

The action in this play is somewhat elaborated, written in a sort of pompous mock-heroic style, with frequent alliteration in Herod's speeches, and much variation of meter. But the first part of the play up to the departure of the three kings from Herod's court, follows very closely the action prescribed in the Prologue. It seems strange that the Prologue makes no mention of the actual adoration of the Christ child, and of the angel's warning to the three kings. However, it may be that this was taken for granted and is implicit in the gifts.

The basal meter of the play seems to be the ballad strophe which occurs in both long- and short-line stanzas. One of Herod's speeches is in the prologue measure, but in his introductory speech Herod employs the tumbling line.

The part of Herod's speech beginning "He is yong and I am olde" and continuing to the line, "Herowdys to the devyl he tryste,"⁸⁷ is written in a different hand.

The Purification

The Purification play is a very simple biblical play, but its omission in the Prologue, as well as the fact that the action in the following play seems to follow immediately upon that of the Three Kings, would seem to indicate that it belongs to the later additions. As it now stands, it may be that its introduction between the two parts of the Herod play, as a sort of interlude, indicates a stationary stage.

Here again we have the appearance of English stage-directions which are used almost exclusively throughout the play; whereas in the two parts of the Herod play the directions are all Latin.

The entire play is written in the same form of meter that is used in part of the play of Joseph's Trouble about Mary. This verse-form, our fifth type of verse, a a b a a b b c b c, is not used elsewhere in the cycle.

⁸⁴ See the table given in the discussion of the *Processus Prophetarum*.

⁸⁵ *Chester*, E. E. T. S., p. 155, l. 568.

⁸⁶ Folio 91b in the manuscript which follows the play of the Shepherds contains a number of scratchings but is otherwise blank. Much of the writing is illegible, but the name William Dere can clearly be made out and occurs three times on this page. The name John Taylphott of parish Bedinton is also written here.

⁸⁷ Halliwell, pp. 168-170.

On folio 100b of the manuscript, which is the last page of the play, occurs the date 1468, written in the margin and apparently by the scribe. Upon this fact is based the belief that the greater part of the manuscript was written at this time.

Slaughter of the Innocents

This play as it now stands includes the Flight into Egypt, the Slaughter of the Innocents, and the Death of Herod. The Prologue divides these scenes into two pageants, including in the first the Flight into Egypt and the Slaughter; and in the second the Death of Herod. This would seem to be a logical division and is probably the way it occurred in the original cycle. Death is mentioned in the Prologue as an allegorical figure, so that there seems to be no reason to believe that allegorical figures must of necessity be later additions.

This play presents two forms of meter. The second and fourth stanzas of the play, which constitute the boastful parts of Herod's first speech, are in the prologue meter; also the banqueting scene and the death of Herod. The rest of the play is in the ballad measure, long- and short-line forms being used interchangeably, the short lines usually for the soldiers' speeches.

At the end of the play there are two folios of the manuscript, 105 and 105b, left blank.

We have then in this Nativity group a number of plays, the meter and style of which seem to indicate that they come from various sources. Chief among the later additions to the cycle is a very elaborate Virgin play which must undoubtedly be ecclesiastical in origin. Though essentially a unit, as it now stands in the cycle it is divided into five separate plays: (1) The Barrenness of Anna, (2) Mary's Presentation in the Temple, (3) Mary's Betrothal, (4) The Salutation, and (5) Mary's Visit to Elizabeth. The first, second, and fourth of these have probably come into the cycle as entirely new. The third seems in all essentials a play belonging to the original cycle with possible touches here and there from the ecclesiastical source. The fifth is largely new, but seems also to contain elements of an old play. The Trial of Joseph and Mary, Joseph and the Midwives, and the Purification also represent later additions to the cycle, though not springing from the same ecclesiastical source.

Metrically the group presents, in addition to the forms of verse used in the Old Testament plays (the prologue verse, single and double quatrains, the ballad stanza), a new form a a b a a b b c b c which is found only in Joseph's Trouble about Mary and the Purification. The tumbling meter also plays a considerable part in the ecclesiastical group of plays. After that it

occurs only in the Cherry-tree episode and in Herod's introductory speech in the play of the Magi.

English stage-directions make their first appearance also in the plays of the Virgin, and are used in all of these except Mary's Betrothal. They also appear again in the Purification, but otherwise the directions are in Latin.

GROUP III

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|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| xxi. Christ and the Doctors | xxiii. The Temptation |
| xxii. Baptism of Jesus | xxiv. Woman Taken in Adultery |
| xxv. The Resurrection of Lazarus | |

PROLOGUE

PLAYS

Christ and the Doctors

xviii.

Christ at twelve years of age disputed with the doctors and overcame them. They marveled.

Three days he was gone from his mother. She sought him about Jerusalem.

xxi.

Preliminary conversation: Two doctors boast of their learning; Jesus rebukes them and they make fun of him.

Dispute: Jesus asks them how the world was made. They discuss the Trinity, Christ's divinity, the prophecies of his birth, etc. Jesus explains that Mary was wedded to Joseph in order to deceive the devil, and so that she would not have to go alone into Egypt.

Mary and Joseph enter, find Jesus and take him home. The doctors worship him.

(20)

The Baptism of Jesus

xix

John shall baptize Jesus in Jordan. The Spirit descends; the voice of God.

The Spirit shall lead Him to the wilderness to stay forty days.

xxii.³⁸

John preaches in the wilderness.

"Ecce vox clamantis, etc."

"Penitenciam nunc agite!

Appropinquabit regnum coelorum."

Jesus approaches and asks John to baptize him.

John protests.

Baptism proper. Spirit descends; the voice of God; John's testimony.

(21)

Jesus says he is going into the wilderness for forty days, led of the Spirit.

John preaches to the people.

³⁸ The MS. has no number here.

The Temptation

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|--|---|-------------|
| <p>xx. Council in hell, wonder who Jesus is, send Satan to tempt him in three sins;</p> <p>But Christ answered them all.</p> | <p>xxiii. Council in hell. Satan is puzzled about Christ, consults with Belial and Beelzebub. They decide to test him, in the three sins to which man is most prone. Satan is to tempt him. Jesus appears soliloquizing; says he has fasted forty days, etc.</p> <p>The temptation: (1) stones to bread; (2) fall from pinnacle of Temple; (3) kneel to Satan. Jesus sends away Satan who is much grieved and puzzled.</p> <p>Angels minister to Jesus.</p> <p>Jesus preaches resistance to temptation.</p> | <p>(22)</p> |
|--|---|-------------|

The Woman Taken in Adultery

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| <p>“xxist pagent shall be of a woman taken in adultery.”</p> <p>Pharisees conceive a plan to convict Christ. If he show the woman mercy, he is against the law of Moses. If he condemn her, he is inconsistent with his own preaching.</p> | <p>xxiv. Jesus’ long speech; urges repentance; talks of God’s mercy.</p> <p>Conspiracy. Scribe and Pharisee are angry with Christ, decide that they must trap him. Accusator comes in and tells them about the woman.</p> <p>Scene at the woman’s house. The woman before Jesus; customary scene. Jesus writes on the ground while the Scribe and Pharisee accuse. “He that is without sin, etc.” They grow ashamed and leave. Jesus speaks to the woman, gives a little talk on repentance.</p> | <p>(23)</p> |
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The Resurrection of Lazarus

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|---|---|-------------|
| <p>xxii. The greatest miracle that Jesus wrought was the resurrection of Lazarus, in whose house he often visited.</p> <p>Lazarus was dead for four days,</p> <p>And on the fourth day awakened by Jesus.</p> | <p>xxv. Lazarus is ill; his sisters and four consolatores seek to comfort him, but Lazarus asks for Jesus. Fourth consolator and Nuncius go for Jesus. Lazarus dies and is buried.</p> <p>Jesus and the messengers; says he will come; walks with disciples.</p> <p>Messengers bring Christ’s answer to Mary and Martha.</p> <p>Jesus arrives; they go to the tomb; Lazarus awakened. Jesus says he must go to his passion.</p> | <p>(24)</p> |
|---|---|-------------|

As far as incident and correspondence with the Prologue are concerned this group of plays is even more simple than the Old Testament group. There is no appearance of the tumbling meter, nor any clear evidence of incidents which have been added to the original cycle. There are, however, certain elements of style and general tone in two of the plays, *Christ and the Doctors* and *the Woman Taken in Adultery*, which seem to indicate a later period. The theological discussions between Christ and the doctors, such as the explanations of the Trinity, the Virgin birth, the statement that Mary was wedded to Joseph in order to deceive the devil, and others,³⁹ sound too sophisticated for an early stage of the plays and recall the ecclesiastical tone of the Nativity plays. The play of the Doctors in the York, Towneley, and Chester cycles is much more simple, and is one and the same play.⁴⁰ In all of these the doctors are discussing the sacredness of Moses' law, and Jesus, after he has told them that he has been taught by the Holy Spirit, recites the ten commandments. In the Towneley cycle this is preceded by a discussion, by the doctors, of the prophecies concerning Christ; and in the Chester play the doctors mention these prophecies after Jesus has left. But in none of these cycles is there any discussion of theological doctrines such as we find in our play.

The parts of the play of *the Woman Taken in Adultery* that are specifically covered in the Prologue are written in a quiet, reverent tone; but the elaboration in the first part of the play, particularly the scene at the woman's house, introduces much the same coarse, boisterous style that we have already noted in the *Trial of Joseph and Mary*. Both plays are written prevailingly in the same meter, namely, the simple double quatrain verse.

There seems to be nothing particularly noteworthy about the play of the *Baptism* as far as style and content are concerned, except possibly that the large number of Latin quotations may indicate an early stage.

In the play of the *Temptation* it seems strange that the Prologue makes no mention of the Angel's ministering to Jesus after the temptation; otherwise, however, there is an exact correspondence between the two.

An interesting consideration in the *Lazarus* play is the rapid shifting of scene from the house of Lazarus and his sisters to the place where Jesus is resting with his disciples. Then we have Jesus with his disciples walking through Judea; then a scene at the house of Lazarus again and, finally, the scene at the tomb. In this respect the play reminds one of the play of the *Last Supper*, where the scene of action alternates between the room where Jesus and the disciples are eating the last supper and the council chamber; though the action here is much less elaborate and there is

³⁹ On this point, see *York*, p. 94, ll. 25-32; *Chester*, p. 154, l. 538.

⁴⁰ *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, E. E. T. S., edited by Hardin Craig, Introduction.

nothing in the stage-directions to indicate definitely a stationary stage, as in the later play.

Metrically this group of plays is extremely simple, only two forms of meter being used. Three of the plays, *Christ and the Doctors*, the *Woman Taken in Adultery*, and *Lazarus*, are written entirely in simple double quatrains; and the other two, the *Baptism* and the *Temptation*, entirely in the prologue meter.

In this part of the cycle there are no indications from stage-directions or from the manuscript, such as were found in the Old Testament plays, that the group was considered as a unit. On the contrary there is at least one blank page left between each two of the plays; and the three plays that are written in the double quatrain measure are introduced by a stage-direction somewhat in the nature of an "Incipit." Thus the *Doctors' play* is introduced by this direction, "Modo de doctoribus disputantibus cum Jhesu in templo," and ends with an "Amen." The *Woman Taken in Adultery* begins "Hic de muliere in adulterio deprehensa," and ends with an "Amen." And finally the *Lazarus play* begins with the direction, "Hic incipit de suscitatione Lazari," but does not, however, end with an "Amen."

With the other two plays, the *Baptism* and the *Temptation*, both of which are written in the prologue meter, the case seems to be different. Although there is a page and a half left blank between them in the manuscript, the stage-directions would seem to indicate that they were acted together. On the folio in the manuscript where the play of the *Baptism* begins⁴¹ (folio 112), there is no "Incipit," but on folio 111b, which aside from a few other scribbles is left blank, we have the direction, "Hic Incipit Johannes Baptysta." There is no "Amen" in this play, nor any "Incipit" in the *Temptation*, but the latter play ends with an "Amen." But more significant is, I believe, the stage-direction near the end of the play of the *Baptism*, after Jesus has said that he is led of the Spirit to go to the wilderness, "Hic Jhesus transit in desertum, dicens, etc."⁴² Then follows a short speech by Jesus in which he says that he is going to fast in the desert for forty days and nights; after which comes John's sermon. The *Temptation play* then opens with the council in hell.

The manuscript in this part of the cycle presents some interesting peculiarities, the most important of which is the fact that the first speech of John the Baptist in the play of the *Baptism*⁴³ is written in a different hand, which may possibly be of the same general period, but not of the same scribe as that of the rest of the cycle. This new hand is, I believe, the same as that noted in the play of the *Magi*. After this speech the name "Jhesus" is written as the next speaker in this same hand, but Jesus' speech begins on the next page in the scribe's own hand.

⁴¹ Halliwell, p. 199.

⁴² Halliwell, p. 203.

⁴³ Halliwell, pp. 199, 200.

On folio 111b of the manuscript, we have in addition to the "Hic incipit Johannes Baptysta," the name "John Kinge the yownger" written in a later hand together with another scribble that I have not yet been able to decipher. Folios 119b, 120, 121, and 126b also contain minor scribbles; but as far as I have been able to read them, they do not seem to be of any great significance.

The stage-directions of this entire group are very simple and without exception in Latin.

GROUP IV

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| xxvi. Council of Jews and Entry | xxxv. Release of Souls from Hell |
| xxvii. The Last Supper and Council | and Report of Watch |
| xxviii. The Betrayal | xxxvi. The Three Marys |
| xxix. Herod and Trial, Pt. I | xxxvii. Mary Magdalen |
| xxx. Trial, Pt. II | xxxviii. Peregrini and Thomas |
| xxxi. Pilate's Wife's Dream and | xxxix. Ascension |
| Condemnation | xl. Pentecost |
| xxxii. Crucifixion | xli. Assumption of Virgin |
| xxxiii. Harrowing of Hell | xlii. Judgment |
| xxxiv. Burial and Setting of the | |
| Watch | |

PROLOGUE

PLAYS

The Council of the Jews and Entry

- xxvi. Demon's Prologue. Says he is Lucifer who came (25) out of hell, prince of this world, etc. His mission is to ruin men and torture them in hell.

He tells the story of his fall; he took one-third of the angels with him. He thinks nothing of getting one thousand souls in an hour. But now he is troubled about Christ. He has tried to tempt him, but failed (mentions the three temptations). He is worried about Christ's growing popularity, raising Lazarus and forgiving Magdalen, and resolves to seek to confuse him when the time for his persecution comes; to bring false witnesses, induce his disciples to forsake him and thus to be revenged.

Then he addresses himself to the people, urges them to follow him, promises rewards, instructs them.

John the Baptist appears, prophesies of Christ, "One shall come after me, etc.," and preaches a long sermon.

Annas appears, is troubled about Christ. Two doctors advise him to consult with Caiaphas and Rewfyn and Leyon. He sends Arfexe for these men.

Caiaphas and his doctors appear; he also expresses his anxiety about Christ. His doctors advise him to consult with Annas.

Annas' messenger enters; in the meantime Rewfyn and Leyon appear "in the place." The messenger speaks first to Caiaphas and then to the other two men. They send back word that they are coming to Annas' court.

The messenger delivers this message to Annas. Annas goes down to meet Caiaphas and his followers.

The council scene in the "myd-place." Annas welcomes them. They consult and resolve that Jesus must be put to death. They decide to stay nine days to discuss by what means his death is to be brought about.

Jesus speaks. "The time of mercy is at hand, etc." (26)

He sends his disciples to "yon castle." They go, meet the "Burgensis" who asks why they take the beasts. Philip replies. They bring the two animals to Christ.

"Here Christ rides out of the place," and Peter and John remain to preach to the people. Peter: "O, pepyl dyspeyryng, be glad." John corroborates Peter's message; tells them Jesus is now coming to the city; bids them prepare to meet him.

Four citizens prepare to meet Christ. They meet him and cast their garments before him.

The children come with flowers singing, "Gloria Laus."

Jesus speaks. The first four lines of this speech are a repetition of his earlier speech at the opening of the entry scene.

Two blind paupers are healed.

The Last Supper and Continuation of Council

xxiii. The twenty-third pageant shall be of Palm Sunday. We shall show how the children of the Hebrews scattered flowers before Christ.

xxvii. Jesus proceeds on foot with his disciples. He weeps over Jerusalem.

xxiv.

Peter and John ask Jesus where he wishes to keep the Passover. Jesus directs them to go to Simon.

(27)

Christ and his disciples
shall keep the
memory of God.

And Judas shall sell
Christ for thirty
pieces of silver.

They go to Simon's house and see to the preparations.

Christ enters, saying that he takes this way for the love of man. Simon welcomes him.

Christ and the apostles enter and eat the paschal lamb.

Council scene ("In council-hous before seyð").

They have been unsuccessful so far: they must find a better plan. Caiaphas: "Better that one man die, etc." Gamaliel, Rewfyn, and Leyon speak.

Mary Magdalene enters, weeps at Jesus' feet. Jesus expels seven devils. She pours ointment on his feet. Judas objects.

Jesus speaks to the disciples and to Mary of one who is about to betray him. They all ask, "Is it I?" etc.

Judas leaves secretly: soliloquizes, resolves to go to the council and to betray Christ.

He greets the doctors in council and tells his errand. They offer him thirty pieces of silver. Judas takes his leave, says he must go back to his master. The council breaks up.

Jesus is talking to his disciples about the Passover. The sacrament of the Last Supper instituted, etc. Offers the bread to all the disciples including Judas.

Judas goes out again: the devil meets him and greets him as his own.

Jesus speaks: "Now is the Son of Man glorified." Peter is warned that he is to deny his master. The foot-washing.

Stage-direction. "Here Jesus goeth Bethany-ward and his disciples following, Jesus saying."

The Betrayal

xxv.

Christ shall pray to
God for relief.

Judas shall kiss him to
betray him.

His disciples forsake
him and let him
stand among his foes.

xxviii. Jesus speaks to his disciples on the way to the (2) garden.

They enter the garden and Jesus asks Peter to stay with the disciples and wait for him while he goes to pray. He goes away three times and returns, finds his disciples sleeping, etc.

The Angel ministers to him, bringing him chalice and host.

Judas comes with the soldiers. They fall back when Jesus tells them that it is he whom they seek. Judas kisses Jesus. Peter strikes Malchus. They lead Jesus away. Gamaliel, Leyon, and Rewfyn mock Jesus.

The two Marys come in and weep.

Trial, Part I, Herod, Trial before Caiaphas, Peter's Denial

Doctors' Prologue. Expositor says, "To the people (29) unlearned I stand as a teacher, and to the learned as a preacher, etc." The apostles appear in procession and are introduced: Peter, prince and president, and Andrew, these two first followed Christ; James and John, two luminaries, given by their mother to Christ in Jerusalem; Philip, who converted the Samaritan, converted the treasurer of Queen Cabdas, James the lesser, first partaker of the ordenance of Cephas; Matthew, apostle and evangelist, called to the flock of ghostly conversation; Bartholemew, who fled all carnal conversation; Simon Zelotes and Judas, who both loved our Lord; Paul, great doctor of faith; Thomas, Christ's wound was his reflection; John the Baptist, highest of prophets, a voice crying in the desert.

xxix.⁴⁴

Herod, Pilate, Annas, and Caiaphas enter and take their scaffolds.

Another expositor in doctor's weeds, Contemplacio, enters. He hails the audience, "May the maiden's son preserve you, etc." We shall proceed with the matter that we left last year; the passion shall be shown. *Last year* we showed: (1) Jesus's coming to Jerusalem, (2) His maunde, (3) His betrayal by Judas, and capture by soldiers. *Now* he is brought before Annas and Caiaphas and later before Pilate, and so forth in his passion. Here Herod shows himself and speaks a boastful speech. He is a follower of Mahownde and hates Christians. He had John the Baptist killed because he baptized Christ. Sends soldiers out to bring in any Christian dogs they may find. They go. He vows to put to the most shameful death any who disobey him. He wishes to see Jesus, tells the soldiers to bring Christ before him, if Jesus should ever come to that country. The soldiers say they will begin their search tomorrow.

xxvi.

A messenger enters "the place," crying "Tidings. (30) Jesus is taken, etc." He tells the story of the capture.

Christ shall be brought before Caiaphas. The Jews are witnesses. Peter's denial.

Jesus is brought before Annas and Caiaphas. The Jews testify; he is questioned, beaten, etc. Caiaphas tears his clothes, etc.

Peter's denial. The cock crows, Peter goes out to weep.

⁴⁴ This number does not occur in the manuscript until after this prologue; see note on manuscript below.

Trial, Part II, The Remorse of Judas, Jesus before Pilate and before Herod

xxvii. Pilate shall sit in state. Jesus shall be brought before him with other thieves. Pilate's wife goes to rest.

xxviii. Judas shall weep because he has sold Jesus, bring his money back and hang himself. His soul is taken to hell.

xxx. Caiaphas sends a messenger to Pilate. The messenger appears before Pilate.

The remorse of Judas. He offers the money to the priests; it is refused; he throws it down and goes to hang himself.

Jesus is led before Pilate. Annas, Caiaphas, and Doctors accuse him. The usual trial scene follows.

Pilate learns that Jesus is from Galilee and sends him to Herod.

Trial before Herod. Herod appears in state. He questions Jesus, seeks to induce him to speak, but without success. He orders Jesus clad in fool's garments after he has been beaten; sends him back to Pilate.

"Here enteryth Satan into the place in the most orryble wyse, and qwyl that he pleyth, thei xal don on Jhesus clothis and overest a whyte clothe, and ledyn hym abowth the place, and than to Pylat, be the tyme that hese wyf hath pleyd."

Trial, Part III, Pilate's Wife's Dream and the Condemnation

xxix.

xxxi. Satan boasts of his power, but is troubled because he has failed in his attempt to tempt Christ. He is still angry for the rebuke that Jesus gave him in the wilderness. He vows that he will have him crucified and brought to hell. He speaks to his vassals in hell, tells them to forge some particularly strong chains to bind Christ. The devils object, they are afraid to have Jesus in hell. Satan considers that it might possibly be dangerous to bring him there, so he decides to go to Pilate's wife.

Pilate's wife shall appear sleeping, and the devil shall appear to her and dream of what Christ has done.

She wakes to Pilate and tells him of her dream of Christ.

Then Pilate is told of the dream "All right."

Then the devil goes to Pilate's wife, "and he xal no more make" her after he is come in, she shall make a "great" noise and run to the scaffold where Pilate is "like a mad woman."

She urges Pilate to condemn Jesus. Satan told her that he who condemns Jesus shall be damned.

Pilate thanks her and sends her back.

Pilate gives counsel to save Christ's life; but the Jews demand his death and the release of Barabas.

The doctors bring Jesus back to Pilate. He seeks (32) to persuade them to let Jesus go. Offers to set free Barabas or Jesus. Examines Jesus alone. Annas and Caiaphas threaten to bring the matter before Caesar.

Sentence passed. Jesus, the two thieves, and Barabas before the bar. Barabas is freed; Jesus and thieves condemned to be beaten and crucified. The two thieves are Dysmas and Jesmas (Dimas and Gestas).

A stage-direction for the beating and the crowning with thorns as well as for the weeping of the women.

The Crucifixion

xxx.

xxxii. Two women weep for Jesus; he speaks to them, "Daughters of Jerusalem, etc."

Simon appears and is forced to carry the cross.

Veronica wipes Jesus' face with her kerchief. Jesus blesses her and gives magic power to the kerchief.

They shall beat Christ and nail him upon a tree, between two thieves.

Crucifixion proper, realistic description of the nailing to the cross, etc. They crucify the two thieves.

Christ speaks seven words on the cross.

John and the three Marys come in and mourn at the cross.

"Forgive them, Father."

Dysmas is forgiven.

Jesus says to his mother, "Woman, behold thy son, etc."

Pilate and the high priests come in. Pilate's inscription.

Jesus: "Eloi eloi, etc."

"I thirst, etc."

"Into Thy hands, etc."

"It is finished."

John comforts Mary and takes her to the Temple.

Mary and John leave the cross and go to the Temple.

The Harrowing of Hell

xxxi. Longinus episode. A spear pierced Christ's heart and Longinus was healed. (See next play.)

Christ's soul goes to hell and overcomes the fiend.

xxxiii.

Jesus speaks: "All mankind in heart be glad, etc." He tells the story of his crucifixion and says he shall rise again.

(33)

Anima: "Against me it were but foolish to hold portas, etc."

Belial: "Out and harrow."

Anima Christi goes to hell and says, "Attollite out, etc."

Burial and the Setting of the Watch

xxxii.

Joseph and Nicodemus ask Pilate for Christ's body. He consents.

The Jews ask for a watch.

Pilate sends four knights to guard the tomb.

But Christ's body shall rise from the grave nevertheless and frighten the watch. (See next play.)

xxxiv. The Centurion, two other soldiers, and Nicodemus are at the cross. They are convinced of Christ's divinity.

Joseph of Arimathea goes to Pilate and asks permission to bury Jesus. The request is granted and Pilate sends two soldiers with Joseph to see if Jesus is really dead.

Longinus episode: At the cross the soldiers see Longinus and force him to pierce Christ's side. The blood runs over his hands; he wipes his eyes and is healed. He worships Christ. (See Prologue, section number xxxi.)

Joseph and Nicodemus take the body from the cross. They lay the body in Mary's lap. She weeps over her son.

They place him in the grave and place a stone before it.

Mary is left at the tomb.

Caiaphas asks Pilate to place a watch at the tomb. (3

Pilate calls four soldiers and sends them to the grave. They boast of their courage.

Pilate sets his seal on the stone.

Pilate, Annas, and Caiaphas go to their scaffolds, and the soldiers are left at the tomb. They take their places and then fall asleep.

"Tunc dormient milites et veniet Anima Christi de inferno, cum Adam et Eva, Abraham, John Baptist, et aliis."

Harrowing of Hell and Report of the Watch

xxxiii. Christ shall bring his friends from hell to paradise.

The soul then goes to the tomb and enters the body.

xxxv. Anima speaks: Come forth, Adam and Eve, etc."

Adam, Eve, John the Baptist, and Abraham in turn express their gratitude.

Anima then binds the devil and Belial laments.

"Tunc transit anima Christi ad resuscitandum corpus, quo resuscitato, dicat Jesus: 'Harde gatys have I gon, etc.'"

Then he goes to his mother in the Temple to comfort her. She rejoices.

Jesus salutes his mother: "Salve, sancta parens, etc." Mary rejoices.

The watch awakens, is frightened, reports to Pilate and is bribed. (See Prologue xxxii.)

The Three Marys

xxxiv. The three Marys seek the tomb. The Angel tells them Christ is risen.

They go and tell the news to the disciples. Peter and John run to the grave and find that Christ is not there.

xxxvi. Mary Magdalene, Mary Jacobi, Mary Salome (36) talk to each other on the way to the grave.

Mary Magdalene looks into the grave and finds Jesus gone. The Angel tells them he is risen and bids them bring the news to the apostles.

Mary Magdalene and Mary Jacobi tell Peter and the other disciples.

Peter and John run to the grave, each enters in turn and finds the grave clothes laid away in place.

Peter speaks to all the disciples gathered together ("omnes congregatus Thomas").

Mary Magdalene

xxxv.

Mary Magdalene shall see Christ, whom she believes to be a gardener.

When Christ calls her by name, she recognizes him. He bids her not touch him.

Mary then goes to the disciples and tells them the truth.

xxxvii. Mary Magdalene stands outside the grave (37) weeping. The Angel seeks to comfort her. She walks away.

Hortulanus scene. She meets Jesus and thinks he is the gardener.⁴⁵ He calls her by name and she recognizes him. "Do not touch me, etc." Mary rejoices.

She tells the disciples that she has seen Christ.

Peregrini and Thomas

xxxvi. Cleophas and Luke go to the castle mourning Christ.

Christ overtakes them

And expounds the prophets.

xxxviii. Cleophas and Luke on the way to Emmaus are (38) discussing the death of Christ.

Jesus overtakes them. They tell him the story and also about the women's testimony.

Jesus expounds the prophets to them.

⁴⁵ There is no mention of his carrying a spade or anything to symbolize a gardener.

He goes with them into the house, and, at the breaking of the bread, disappears.

xxxvii. To Thomas of India Christ shall appear, and Thomas shall touch his wounds.

xxxviii.

Christ shall ascend into heaven; all his apostles shall be there and be very sad.

Two angels shall comfort them and tell them that he shall come again.

Scene in the house. Jesus blesses the bread, etc., and disappears before their eyes.

Cleophas and Luke go to the disciples and tell them the story. Peter rejoices and urges Thomas to believe. But Thomas says he will not believe until he has seen the wounds of Christ.

Christ enters, "Peace be among you, etc."

He shows Thomas his wounds and Thomas believes and repents of his unbelief.

The Ascension

xxxix. Jesus speaks: "Peace be with you, etc." Tells them to stay in Jerusalem. He ascends. (3)

One angel comes to comfort them, tells them that Jesus will return, etc.

[Peter] tells them to elect another disciple. They draw lots and Matthew is chosen.

Pentecost

xxxix. The apostles were gathered in Jerusalem, praying.

The Holy Ghost came upon them; they spoke in all tongues.

And later they departed.

xl. The apostles are kneeling and praying in Jerusalem. (4)

The spirit descends upon them, "Et omnes osculant terram."

The Jews mock them and Peter gives his defense.

The Assumption of the Virgin

xli. "Ad mea facta pater assit Deus et sua mater." (4)

Doctor says that St. John has written of this Assumption in a book called the Apocrypha. He tells the story of Mary's life; how at fourteen, she conceived Christ, lived with him for thirty-three years, and after his death twelve years; so that now she was three-score years. "Legenda Sanctorum" authorizes this truly. She lived in Sion after her Son's ascension and visited all the places where Christ had been; Jordan, where he was baptized, the place where he was captured, and where he was buried and, finally, where he ascended.

Upon inquiry the Episcopus learns that while there is comparative peace in the land since Jesus was slain, his mother is still living and has a number of followers who travel about the country preaching that Jesus is still living. They do not dare to put these people to death, for fear that the commons will rise. But they resolve at Mary's death to burn her body and to slay the apostles.

Mary in the Temple prays that she may be delivered from this life. Sapientia hears her prayer, sends an angel down to tell his mother that in three days she shall ascend to the presence of God. Mary asks that the apostles may be present when she dies and that she may not see the fiend. The Angel ascends. Mary tells her two maidens; she goes to her house.

Suddenly John appears at Mary's house, carried there in a cloud. Mary tells John how the Jews have planned to burn her body and asks him to prevent it.

Here suddenly all the apostles appear before the gates. (The stage-direction says all the apostles; but Peter and Paul are the only ones who take any part in the conversation or action. These two also come in clouds.) They meet John and he explains to them why they were brought there.

Mary's deathbed. Each apostle lights a candle and watches at the bedside. Jesus descends to comfort his mother, accompanied by a heavenly choir. Mary dies while the choir sings. Two virgins care for the body.

Funeral procession. Peter, Paul, and John carry the bier. Chorus of angels sings. Peter: *Exiit Israel de Egipto.* Apostoli: "*Facta est Judea sanctificatio ejus, etc.*"

The Jewish leaders learn that Mary is being buried. Three men are sent to capture her body. They attack the apostles but are miraculously stricken with some disease and two of them run away. One of them makes bold to touch the bier and his hand becomes fastened to it. He prays Peter to help him. Peter bids him believe and kneel before the bier. He does this and is healed. Peter gives him a palm and tells him to take this and preach repentance to the other Jews.

They place the body in the tomb and have a service there.

The Jewish princeps who has been healed holds his palm up before the other Jews and bids them believe that they may be made well. One of them touches the palm and is cured. But the other

refuses to forsake the law, and the devils come and carry him off to hell.
Jesus and the angels descend to the apostles. Mary's spirit again enters the body and they ascend together. Jesus crowns her queen of heaven and mother of mercy.

The Judgment

- xl.

The earth shall quake
and graves open.
Dead men shall answer
before God's face.

"Whoso to God has
been unkind, Friend-
ship there shall not
find."
- xlii. Jesus descends with Michael and Gabriel and the (4
two angels summon men to judgment.
"Omnes resurgentes subtus terram clamavit 'Ha!
a! a!' Deinde surgentes dicat, 'ha! a! a!'"

All the demons call "Harrow and owt."
Deus to the blessed: "Venite benedicti." Peter
opens the gates of heaven and the souls of the
saved enter.
The souls of the damned cry for mercy, the demons
accuse them. Deus: "To hungry and thirsty,
etc."

The devils go on accusing and the "dampnandi" ask
for mercy.
Deus:
.....
.....
The play is incomplete.

In the fourth division of the cycle we have a great number of complications and evidence of late extraneous influence, somewhat analogous to those found in the Nativity plays. In the latter group there seemed to be a distinct unit, or group of plays, concerning the life of the Virgin, that had been incorporated, more or less completely, into the cycle. So here we see the influence of a Passion play, similar probably to those that often existed in the southern part of England. It is doubtful, however, whether this play was incorporated as a whole. The actual incidents as we now find them in the plays correspond fairly well with the general Prologue, and the additions seem to be more in the nature of elaborate processions and prologues. So that it is more probable that what we have in this part of the cycle is a working over into another form, after the pattern of some Passion play, of materials already present.

In the play numbered 26 (Halliwell 25), Lucifer appears and recites a long prologue in which he introduces himself and tells the story of his fall, and how now he is seeking to bring about the ruin of Christ. He ends with a detailed description of his costume. This is just such a prologue as was

often used to introduce Passion plays on the continent. Then follow the plays of the Council and Entry, the Last Supper, the Betrayal and Capture; after which comes, in the twenty-ninth play, another long prologue scene with doctors and expositors. At the end of this prologue scene, an expositor in doctor's weeds, *Contemplacio* by name, enters and says that they will now continue where they left off last year. He then mentions as plays performed last year, the Entry, the Maundy, the Betrayal and Capture, which is exactly what was covered since *Lucifer's* prologue. He goes on to say that now they will show how he was brought before Annas and Caiaphas and later before Pilate and so forth in his Passion. I think it impossible that this division into two parts should refer to the whole cycle, which would then be very unevenly divided; but rather that this expositor's speech belonged to the Passion play only. It certainly indicates, for this part of the cycle, an independent use at some time as a Passion play. The name *Contemplacio* may have been introduced by the scribe when he was copying, in an attempt to make this part of the cycle seem consistent with the Nativity plays.

The part of our cycle, covering the action prescribed by *Contemplacio*, presents a number of noteworthy differences from the rest of the cycle; such as the widespread use of the tumbling meter, and stage-directions that indicate the use of a fixed stage and are peculiarly explicit in matters of costume and properties. These directions are entirely in English down to the scene of Peter's denial. In this and a few of the following scenes certain traditional directions, such as "*Et cantabit gallus,*" are written in Latin, but English continues to be used prevailingly in the stage-directions to the end of the play of the Burial and the Setting of the Watch. From this point on, with but one single exception, the directions are entirely in Latin and are in the same simple form that we have found before in the plays covering Old Testament subjects, and the life of Christ up to the Passion. The use of the tumbling meter, with but one exception, also ends at this point. Moreover, in the manuscript these plays follow immediately upon one another without any blank spaces between them, except at the point that *Contemplacio* marks as the division in the Passion play, until the end of the play of the Appearance to Mary Magdalene. After that the blank spaces are left regularly at the end of each play as they have been in the other parts of the cycle that have appeared to be simple and unmodified.

Thus the meter and the stage-directions, as well as the fact that *Contemplacio* speaks only of the passion of Christ, and not of the resurrection, would seem to indicate that foreign influence ends with the play of the Burial and the Setting of the Watch; whereas the appearance of the manuscript might point to the Appearance to Mary Magdalene as the end.

Before proceeding to a discussion of individual plays it may be well to

indicate in an abbreviated form the variation of Halliwell's division of the plays from that of the manuscript. I have followed the manuscript.

MANUSCRIPT		HALLIWELL
26	Demon Prologue	25
	Council of the Jews	
	The Entry	26
27	Jesus Weeping over Jerusalem	
	The Last Supper and Continuation of Council	27
28	The Betrayal and Capture	28
29	The Doctors' Prologue	29
	Herod	
	Trial before Caiaphas	30
30	Peter's Denial	
	Remorse of Judas	31
	Jesus before Pilate	
31	Jesus before Herod	32
	Pilate's Wife's Dream	
	The Second Trial before Pilate	32
32	Weeping of the Women and Veronica	
	Crucifixion	

MANUSCRIPT		HALLIWELL
■	Harrowing of Hell I	33
34	Burial and Longinus	34
	Setting of the Watch	
35	Harrowing of Hell II	35
	Jesus Hails His Mother	
	Report of the Watch	
36	The Three Marys	36
37	Mary Magdalene	37
38	Peregrini and the Incredulity of Thomas	38

The Council and Entry

The Prologue for this play provides for nothing more than Palm Sunday and the children, whereas the play presents in addition the introductory speeches of Lucifer and John the Baptist, the convening of the council, Peter's and John's sermons to the Jews, and the healing of the two blind men. On folio 142b of the manuscript, immediately after the council scene, appears this direction: "Here enteryth the apostyl Petyr and John the evangelist with him, Peter seyng." This and the following speech of Peter's is crossed out, and we have instead a speech by Jesus, in which he addresses himself first to the Jews, and then sends his disciples into the city, after which he leaves. When Christ has left, Peter and John begin to preach to the people, and here we have the speech by Peter that had been crossed out before. The direction, however, is not repeated. This may indicate, it seems to me, that in this place we had originally a very simple play of the entry, which began with Peter's speech and included simply the homage of the four citizens and the songs of the children. In this connection it is interesting to note that in Jesus' speech at the end of the play, just before the healing of the two blind men,⁴⁶ the first four lines are a repetition of his first speech.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Halliwell, p. 256.

This would leave the council scene, Jesus' two speeches, and the healing of the two blind men to be considered as later additions to the cycle.

The play is written largely in single and double quatrains, the latter prevailing. The tumbling measure also makes its frequent appearance, notably in the speeches of Demon, John the Baptist, and in Annas' first speech as well as those of his two doctors (to the top of page 246 in Halliwell). Two stanzas (on pages 246 and 247) where Caiaphas is speaking, just before the messenger from Annas appears, and also the last three stanzas of Peter's speech,⁴⁸ are also written in the tumbling verse.

The prologue stanza makes its appearance in the scene where Jesus asks his disciples to go into the city and in the conversation with the Burgensis, with the exception that the first four lines of Jesus' speech, which are repeated later, form a separate quatrain.

The following stage-direction from this play will serve to illustrate the peculiarities of the directions in this part of the cycle: "Here xal Annas shewyn hymself in his stage, be seyn after a busshop of the hoold lawe, in a skarlet gowne, and over that a blew tabbard furryd with whyte, and a mytere on his hed, after the hoold lawe; ij. doctorys stondyng by hym in furryd hodys, and on befor hem with his staff of astat, and eche of hem on here hedys a furryd cappe, with a gret knop in the crowne, and on stondyng befor as a Sarazyn, the wiche xal be his masangere."⁴⁹ This careful attention to the position and costumes of the characters is entirely foreign to the simple plays that precede this group. The elaborateness of the stage properties called for, the frequent mentions of "the place" indicate a fixed stage for this group of plays. Thus while the messenger is speaking to Caiaphas in his scaffold, Rewfyn and Leyon appear in "the place." And later "the buskopys with here clerkes and the Phariseus mett, in the *myd place*, and ther xal be a lytil oratory with stolys and cusshonys clenly beseyn, lyche as it were a cownsel-hous."⁵⁰ A little while later, after Christ has made his speech to the Jews, we are told that he rides out of "the place," etc. I have also noticed that, beginning with the direction concerning the citizens' homage to Jesus,⁵¹ we have the frequent substitution of *qw* for *wh* in such words as *qwan* and *qwat*.⁵²

The Last Supper and Continuation of Council

This play also appears to have been very much modified. The Prologue provides for the Supper and for the selling of Christ by Judas, but not for the elaborate council scene which we find here. This, I think, must have been a part of the Passion play. It seems probable that the original play

⁴⁷ Halliwell, p. 252.

⁴⁸ Halliwell, p. 249.

⁴⁹ Halliwell, p. 254.

⁵⁰ Halliwell, p. 256.

⁵¹ Halliwell, p. 244.

⁵² In the manuscript the name Wyllum Dere is written in the margin of the first page of this play.

included simply the scene of the Supper and Judas' withdrawal, to meet either with the Jews or, possibly, the devil. Or it may be that he simply soliloquized. It is interesting to note that the stage-direction for the Demon's speech⁸⁵ states that this scene may be included or omitted at the pleasure of the performers.

That the Mary Magdalene episode is a later addition the manuscript indicates clearly. On folio 148b the direction, "Here Judas Caryoth comyth into the place,"⁸⁴ has been crossed out, also the name *Jesus* as the next speaker. At the bottom of the page three lines, "as a cursyd," "my herte is ryth," and "now cowntyrfetyd I have," have been written and crossed out. The first of these lines is the opening line of Mary's speech;⁸⁵ the second is the first line of Christ's speech after the Mary Magdalene episode,⁸⁶ introducing the scene where Jesus says one of his disciples shall betray him; the third line is the opening line of Judas' speech, which follows the scene between Jesus and his disciples.⁸⁷ Evidently the direction, "Here Judas goth into the place," which is crossed out in the manuscript, though printed by Halliwell (p. 263), is the same as that which precedes this last-mentioned speech of Judas.⁸⁸ This confusion would seem to me to indicate that the scribe had at first intended to introduce the scene where Judas sells Christ to the doctors, immediately after Annas' last speech,⁸⁹ and thus make of the council one continuous scene. Then later it seems that he thought to introduce the scene between Jesus and his disciples⁹⁰ at this point, but finally decided to introduce the Mary Magdalene episode. This episode occupies folios 149 and 149b in the manuscript, and the handwriting seems to indicate that it was written by the same scribe, but at a different time and with a different pen. It is much more closely written. Perhaps this indicates that at first the scene between Jesus and his disciples followed Annas' speech (p. 263) and that the story of Mary was written in at a later time on a blank page that had been left there.⁹¹

Metrically the play presents two main forms. The Mary Magdalene episode is in the prologue stanza, whereas the greater part of the play is in double quatrains. The scene between Jesus and his disciples, mentioned above, as well as the one where he establishes the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (pp. 270-274), are in the tumbling meter, which may point to a later origin for these parts. There are also three cases of couplets in the play (pp. 274, 276).

⁸⁵ Halliwell, p. 275.

⁸⁶ Halliwell, p. 265.

⁸⁷ Halliwell, p. 263.

⁸⁴ Halliwell, p. 263.

⁸⁵ Halliwell, p. 267.

⁸⁶ Halliwell, pp. 265-267.

⁸⁸ Halliwell, p. 263.

⁸⁹ Halliwell, p. 267.

⁹¹ The name John Holland occurs four times in this section of the manuscript on folios 151b, 152b, 153b, and 155b. The handwriting resembles that of the scribe.

The Betrayal

The preceding play ends with the direction, "Here Jhesus goth to Betanyward, and his dyscipulys folwyng with sad contenawns, Jhesus seyng," and this play opens with Jesus' speech on the way to the garden. Either this direction ought to be transferred to this play, or the speech belongs to the play of the Last Supper. However, if we conceive these plays to have been performed on a stationary stage, considerations of this kind are of very little importance.⁶²

The Angel's ministering to Jesus is not mentioned in the Prologue. His bringing a chalice and the host is a theological touch. Moreover, the Prologue says that Christ's disciples forsake him, but there is no direction in the play to that effect. The laments of the Marys are also omitted from the Prologue; and these laments are also written in the tumbling meter, whereas the rest of the play is in simple single and double quatrain stanzas.

Trial I (Herod, Trial before Caiaphas and Peter's Denial)

The play of the Betrayal ends on folio 162 of the manuscript and folio 162b is blank. The prologue of the doctors is written in on ff. 163 and 163b in a different hand; then, except for a few scribbles, ff. 164 and 164b are blank. So that the next play does not actually begin before folio 165, although the doctors' prologue does occur before; nor does the number 29 appear before this point. After this there are no blank spaces in the manuscript until the end of the play of Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene. The hand in which Contemplacio's speech is written seems to differ both from that of the usual scribe and also from that of the doctors' prologue.

The general Prologue for this play promises nothing more than a trial before Caiaphas and Peter's denial, and these portions of the play are written in simple meters. The actual trial before Caiaphas⁶³ is in simple quatrains, with a good deal of confusion of rhyme due to the short speeches in the buffeting scenes, etc.; the scene of Peter's denial is in couplets, ending in a simple quatrain. But the other parts of the play, Contemplacio's speech, the speeches of Herod and the soldiers, the messenger's tidings to Annas, Annas' greeting of Jesus, and Peter's lament are written almost entirely in tumbling quatrains. Thus it seems probable that all of the play except the actual trial before Caiaphas and Peter's denial is late.

The appearance of the stage-directions would also seem to support such a theory. In the first part of the play we find the same elaborate sort of directions that characterize this part of the cycle: "What tyme that processyon is enteryd into the place, and the Herowdys takyn his schaffalde,

⁶² Hohl'feld also calls attention to this fact, *Die Kollektivmysterien, Anglia*, xi, p. 234.

⁶³ Halliwell, pp. 295-297.

and Pylat and Annas and Cayphas here schaffaldys; also than come ther an exposytour, in doctorys wede, thus seyng." But with the buffeting scenes in the Trial before Caiaphas and in Peter's Denial we have the occasional use of simple Latin stage-directions. This is the first appearance of Latin directions since the Lazarus play.

Trial II (Remorse of Judas, Jesus before Pilate and Herod)

This play, as it now stands, seems to be a reworking of what was in the cycle originally two plays, with some introduction of new material. If the Remorse of Judas was a separate play, it is probable that it was presented as a sort of interlude between the two trials before Pilate. Strangely enough the Prologue makes no mention of a trial before Herod. Combining this with the fact that the parts of the preceding play concerning Herod were also omitted from the Prologue, it would seem that Herod was introduced into this part of the cycle at the time of revision.

In connection with the first trial before Pilate, the Prologue states that Christ shall be tried together with thieves. But the thieves do not actually appear until the second trial before Pilate. There, however, they are omitted from the Prologue. There are also in this play two other minor points of disagreement between Prologue and plays. The former provides that Pilate's wife shall go to rest, a thing which does not occur in the play; also, the play as it now stands presents no scene where the devil carries Judas off to hell, but simply states that he goes to hang himself.

The meter of the play as a whole is very simple, largely simple quatrains with an occasional double quatrain. A part of the scene where Pilate questions Jesus⁶⁴ is written in couplets. The tumbling meter makes its appearance only in the first part of the play where Caiaphas calls the messenger and the messenger delivers his message first to Pilate and then to Caiaphas.

The last stage-direction in the play indicates beyond any doubt that these plays were presented on a fixed stage: "Here enteryth Satan into the place in the most orryble wyse, and qwyl that he pleyth, thei xal don on Jhesus clothis and overest a whyte clothe, and leydyn hym abowth the place and than to Pylat, be the tyme that hese wyff hath pleyd." This play contains one Latin stage-direction.

Trial III (Pilate's Wife's Dream and the Condemnation)

Satan's prologue, which is not provided for in the general Prologue, and is also written in the tumbling meter, probably does not belong to the original cycle. The scene of the council in hell is also omitted from the Prologue

⁶⁴ Halliwell, p. 301.

and would seem to belong to a later period. It is, however, written in simple quatrains, which is the prevailing meter of the play. With the exception, noted before, that the thieves, placed by the Prologue in the preceding play, actually appear here, the rest of the action is entirely consistent with the Prologue and probably represents an early stage of the cycle.

This play also employs a number of couplets in addition to the prevailing simple quatrains.⁶⁵ Here also we have the occasional appearance of simple Latin stage-directions.

The Crucifixion

Jesus' speech to the Jewish women, "Daughters of Jerusalem, etc.," is written in tumbling meter, and probably belongs to a later period than that represented by the Prologue. Although the laments of the women, Simon's carrying of the cross, and the Veronica episode are written in simple quatrains, their omission from the Prologue may indicate that they were later borrowings into the cycle. The Veronica story occurs only in this and the York cycles; it comes from a legendary source, such as would probably not have been used in this cycle at the time of the writing of the Prologue. The forgiving of Dysmas and Pilate's inscription are also omitted from the Prologue, and the latter incident is introduced by just such a stage-direction as we believe is characteristic of the Passion play.

After Pilate has gone back to his scaffold we have the reappearance of the ballad stanza a a b c c b, which is continued to the end of this play and throughout the next.

The Harrowing of Hell I

Although the one stage-direction here is in English, the play is extremely simple and seems to be in its original form. The second scene of the Harrowing of Hell (a part of the Resurrection play) is also written in the ballad meter, and the action follows immediately upon that of the first Harrowing of Hell, as if the two had at one time been a single play. However, that must have been before the Prologue was written, for that provides for a division just as we find it here.

There seem to be no indications of any influence from the Passion play in either of these two scenes. But there may have been some change in the order of the incidents in this part of the cycle. In the Prologue the Longinus story is placed with the first Harrowing of Hell, the two constituting a separate pageant, whereas as the cycle now stands, the first Harrowing of Hell stands alone, and the Longinus episode is placed with the play of the Burial.

⁶⁵ Halliwell, pp. 312, 313, 316.

The Burial and the Setting of the Watch

Although this play corresponds fairly well, as far as incidents are concerned, with the general Prologue, it presents some little evidence of foreign influence in that both English stage-directions and the tumbling meter are used to some extent. This meter makes its appearance in the conversation of the Centurion and the other two soldiers at the cross. The other scenes of the play are written either in simple quatrains or in the ballad stanza. Nicodemus⁶⁸ speaks one stanza in the ballad strophe. The rest of the burial scene and the first part of the Setting of the Watch, are in quatrains; but beginning with Affraunt's speech to Pilate on the way to the tomb, the ballad measure is again employed. In the first part of this last scene the lines are generally four feet long, but the last stanza of Pilate's speech and the conversation of the soldiers at the grave are in the very short line ballad stanza, often running into the form a a b c c b.

This play marks the end of the influence of the Passion play. The following plays, though not always corresponding in every detail with the Prologue, are, with the exception of the play of the Assumption of the Virgin, very simple. There is only one further instance (in the play of Thomas) of the use of the tumbling meter; and only one stage-direction in English (in the play of Mary Magdalene) throughout the rest of the cycle. The stage-directions are again simple, as they were in the first part of the cycle, and there is no further mention of "the place." The play of Mary Magdalene ends with an "Explicit apparicio Mariae Magdalen," and each succeeding play, except the Assumption of the Virgin, begins with a direction somewhat in the nature of an "Incipit." The play of Pentecost also ends with an "Amen."

Resurrection and Awakening of the Watch

At the end of the Crucifixion a stage-direction, in agreement with the Prologue, states that Mary, the mother of Jesus, goes to the Temple. But in the play of the Burial she is present and at the end is said to be left with the other Marys at the tomb. The Prologue for the Burial makes no provision for this, but states in the section devoted to the play of the Resurrection, that Christ goes to the Temple to find his mother; whereas in the play of the Resurrection Christ seems to find his mother at the tomb. Thus the action in the Prologue is consistent with itself and with the direction at the end of the play of the Crucifixion, whereas the action that follows this direction in the plays is not consistent. It is probable that in the cycle, at the time which the Prologue represents, Mary went to the Temple after the crucifixion and remained there to meet Christ after his resurrection; whereas in

⁶⁸ Halliwell, p. 331.

some other play, which has influenced this cycle, the Marys were left at the tomb after the burial and remained there to be ready for the play of Christ's Appearance to the Three Marys. In this latter play, the play of the Three Marys probably stood for the Resurrection and there probably was no special appearance to the Virgin Mary. In this connection it is interesting to note that Virgin Mary is not one of the three women who go to the tomb, according to the direction at the beginning of the play of the Three Marys. "Hic venient ad sepulchrum Maria Magdalene, Maria Jacobi, et Maria Salome, etc." The direction first quoted is also inconsistent with that at the end of the Burial referred to above: "Here the princes xal do reverens to oure Lady, and gon here way, and leve the Maryes at the sepulchre." If our theory is correct, the direction stating that the three Marys go to the grave belongs to the second play which we believe has influenced the cycle.

Another inconsistency between Prologue and cycle appears in that the former does not specifically mention the awakening of the watch, although it does seem to imply some such scene in the section devoted to the preceding play, when in providing for the setting of the watch, it suggests that at the resurrection Christ shall frighten the soldiers. Possibly in the old cycle this scene occurred in the same pageant with the setting of the watch.

The Remaining Plays of the Cycle

The play of the Journey to Emmaus is a very simple biblical play and agrees with the Prologue with the exception that the Prologue treats the story of Thomas as a separate pageant. The use of the tumbling meter in this second part of the play would seem to be very significant in the light of this inconsistency. It looks as if at the time of the revising of the cycle the original Thomas play had been rewritten in this late meter and appended to the regular Peregrini play.

In the Ascension play one angel only appears; whereas the Prologue states that there shall be two. At the end of the play Peter (whose name is omitted from the manuscript and also from Halliwell's edition) makes a speech to the disciples telling them to elect another apostle, which is not included in the Prologue but is consistent with the Bible story.⁶⁷

The play of Pentecost is remarkably short consisting of only thirty-nine lines. It would almost seem that it, like the Judgment play, must be a fragment, though there is no indication of this in the manuscript, as in the case of the latter play. In the Judgment play we have at the end the name "Deus" indicated as the next speaker, but no speech is provided for him.

The Assumption of the Virgin is not provided for in the Prologue and is written in a different hand from that of the rest of the cycle. It is different

⁶⁷ Falke, *Die Quellen des sog. Ludus Coventrie*, also calls attention to the omission of Peter's name.

in tone and much more elaborate than any of the other plays. Directions such as the following: "Hic cantabunt org,"⁶⁸ and "Et hic ascendent in coelum cantantibus organis,"⁶⁹ may be thought to indicate that this play was at some time performed in a church.

Metrically this play is very much confused. There are a number of passages in the prologue stanza, also a number of quatrains. Some of these quatrains are double, thus, a b a b a b a b, and a number of them also begin with a couplet, a a b a b a b a b. Five stanzas scattered through the play seem to show a confusion of quatrains with the ballad stanza, a a a b a b a b a b.⁷⁰ The play shows throughout, however, longer lines than the rest of the cycle.

With the exception of this play and the Thomas scene, noted before, this last part of the cycle is very simple metrically, presenting three main forms of meter, the ballad stanza, the double quatrain, and the prologue stanza. The Resurrection and the Three Marys down to Magdalene's speech to the apostles are in the ballad stanza. Beginning with this speech and throughout the next two plays as far as the scene of the Incredulity of Thomas the simple double quatrain form is employed, with an occasional single quatrain in the Appearance to Mary Magdalene. The Thomas scene is in tumbling quatrains. The remaining three plays are in the prologue stanza. In the Ascension and Pentecost the form of the stanza has been slightly changed from a b a b a b a b c d d d c to a b a b b c b c d e e e d, but the Judgment play resumes the old form.

CONCLUSION

It appears, then, from our study that the Prologue provides for the following incidents:

1. Creation of Angels and Fall of Lucifer
2. Creation and Fall of Man
3. Cain and Abel
4. Noah and the Flood
5. Abraham and Isaac
6. Moses and the Laws
7. Prophets (prophecies of a queen)
8. Mary's Betrothal (in two parts)
9. Salutation
10. Joseph's Trouble about Mary
11. The Trial of Joseph and Mary

(This section is a simple quatrain and probably not a part of the original prologue.)

⁶⁸ Halliwell, p. 393

⁶⁹ Halliwell, p. 400.

⁷⁰ Halliwell, pp. 387, 391, 392.

12. Joseph and the Midwives
(Also a quatrain.)
13. The Adoration of the Shepherds
14. The Adoration of the Magi
15. Slaughter of the Innocents (including a Flight into Egypt)
16. The Death of Herod
17. Christ and the Doctors
18. The Baptism of Christ
19. The Temptation (including a Council in Hell)
20. The Woman Taken in Adultery
21. The Resurrection of Lazarus
22. The Entry into Jerusalem
23. The Last Supper (including Judas' Selling of Christ)
24. The Betrayal
25. Christ before Caiaphas (including Peter's Denial)
26. Christ before Pilate
27. The Remorse of Judas
28. Pilate's Wife's Dream and the Second Trial before Pilate
29. The Crucifixion
30. Longinus and the First Harrowing of Hell
31. Burial and Setting of the Watch
32. Second Harrowing of Hell and Christ's Salutation to His Mother (i. e.,
The Resurrection)
33. The Three Marys (*Quem Quaeritis*)
34. Mary Magdalene (*Hortulanus*)
35. Cleophas and Luke (*Peregrini*)
36. Thomas of India
37. The Ascension
38. Pentecost
39. Doomsday

Mr. E. N. S. Thompson in an article on *Ludus Coventriae*⁷¹ expresses the opinion that this Prologue is not an integral part of the cycle, but is antedated by the plays. This view, however, I can not agree with. The agreement of the Prologue and the cycle in all essential scenes, and in such peculiarities as (1) the emphasis on the Virgin in the Prophecies, (2) the prefixing of a council in hell to the regular Temptation play, (3) the division of the Harrowing of Hell into two scenes, (4) the fact that Christ appears to his mother in the Resurrection before he is seen by the three Marys, and many other instances make it impossible to doubt that the Prologue belongs

⁷¹ *Med. Lang. Notes*, xxi.

to the cycle. Moreover, it will be noted that the plays here provided for, while sufficient for a complete cycle,⁷² provide only for very simple biblical scenes. As the Prologue now stands there are only three scenes that come from Apochryphal sources, namely, Mary's Betrothal, the Trial of Joseph and Mary, and Joseph and the Midwives, and two of these seem from metrical evidences to be later additions. So that it does not seem probable that the Prologue is antedated by the plays, but rather that it represents an earlier and more primitive form of the same cycle. Thus the theory that the Prologue represents an early stage of our plays and that those scenes which do not appear there are later modifications of the cycle, appears to be tenable.

Chief among these modifications are the Virgin play in the Nativity group of plays, and the Passion play in the third group. In addition to these two main instances, it will be remembered that other scenes not mentioned in the Prologue, such as the Lamech episode in the play of Noah's Flood, the story of the Cherry-tree in the Journey to Bethlehem, and the Veronica episode in the Crucifixion are to be regarded as belonging to the period of revision.

To support this conclusion an examination of the metrical arrangement of the cycle has revealed the fact that the tumbling measure, which we believe to have been the meter of a redactor, is used to the greatest extent in the Virgin and Passion plays, and that it appears elsewhere only in such parts of the cycle as bear evidence of revision; namely, the Lamech episode, the Cherry-tree episode, Herod's first boastful speech in the play of the Magi, and Christ's appearance to Thomas.

The following table represents the general distribution of the various verse-forms throughout the cycle. It omits, however, the form *a a b a a b b c b c* which appears only in the last half of Joseph's Trouble about Mary and in the play of the Purification.

⁷² The omission of the Visit to Elizabeth, which may seem to be traditionally necessary, has been accounted for by the fact that the Prologue here bears evidence of having been modified.

TUMBLING METER	PROLOGUE METER	QUATRAINS (SINGLE AND DOUBLE)	BALLAD VERSE	COUPLETS
Noah's Ark (from the point where the angel delivers God's command to the end, including the Lamech episode)	Prologue Fall of Lucifer Fall of Man Cain and Abel Noah's Ark (to the point where the Angel delivers God's command)	Prologue (two instances only)	Fall of Man (only in scene where God visits the garden)	
Mary's Betrothal (one or two instances)	Mary's Betrothal (main part of play)	Abraham and Isaac Moses and the Law Prophets		
Salutation (Contemplatio's speech)		Mary's Betrothal (occasional appearance)		
Visit to Elizabeth (main part of play)	Joseph's Trouble about Mary (first part)	Salutation (main part of play)		
		Visit to Elizabeth (only in scene where Joseph and Mary bid Elizabeth farewell)		
		Trial of Joseph and Mary (main part of play)	Trial of Joseph and Mary (only in Den's introductory speech)	
Joseph and the Midwives (the Cherry-tree episode only)		Joseph and the Midwives (main part of play)		
	Shepherds (two stanzas only)	Shepherds (only in scene where they imitate the angels)	Shepherds (main part of play)	
The Three Kings (only in Herod's first speech)	The Three Kings (in some of Herod's later speeches)		The Three Kings (main part of play)	

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TUMBLING METER	PROLOGUE METER	QUATRAINS (SINGLE AND DOUBLE)	BALLAD VERSE	COUPLETS
	Slaughter of Innocents. (Herod's first speech and the banqueting scene and the death of Herod)		Slaughter of Innocents (main part of play)	
	Baptism Temptation	Christ and the Doctors The Woman Taken in Adultery Lazarus Council of Jews (only occasional appearance) The Entry (main part of this scene) Last Supper (main part of play)		
Council of the Jews (main part of council scene)				
Last Supper (two scenes only: 1. One shall betray me, etc. 2. The establishment of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper)				
Betrayal (only the laments of the women)		Betrayal (main part of play)		
Trial I (main part of play) Doctors' prologue Contemplacio's speech Herod and the Soldiers Scenes involving the Messenger and parts of the trial Peter's lament		Trial I Actual trial before Caiaphas Peter's third denial		Trial I Peter's first two denials
Trial II. The scenes in first part of play involving the messenger		Trial II (main part of play)		Trial II Short scene in examination of Jesus by Pilate
Trial III. Satan's prologue		Trial III (main part of play)		Trial III Three short scenes

TUMBLING METER	PROLOGUE METER	QUATRAINS (SINGLE AND DOUBLE)	BALLAD VERSE	COUPLETS
Crucifixion (only in Jesus' speech to the women)		Crucifixion (first part)	Crucifixion (second part)	Crucifixion (a very few lines)
Burial (only in scene between centurion and the soldiers at the cross)		Burial (main part of scene)	Harrowing of Hell	
			Setting of the Watch (entire scene)	
			Resurrection and Awakening of Watch	
		The Three Marys (from Magdalene's speech to the disciples to the end)	The Three Marys (to Magdalene's speech to the apostles)	
		The Appearance to Mary Magdalene		
		The Peregrini (entire scene)		
Christ's appearance to Thomas (entire scene)	Ascension of Christ Pentecost Assumption of Virgin (parts only) Judgment			

It appears, then, that the prologue stanza is used to the exclusion of other forms in the beginning and end of the cycle, and also appears to some extent in the plays dealing with the Nativity. The plays of the Baptism and Temptation are written entirely in this form, but after that the stanza does not occur again until the Ascension. The quatrain measure is predominating in the main body of the cycle. The double quatrain stanza begins in the play of Abraham and Isaac and is used pretty generally through the Nativity group and the plays concerning the life of Christ from the Dispute with the Doctors through the first half of the Passion. Beginning with the second half of the Passion play the single quatrains seem to be preferred to the double.

In the Old Testament plays there is only a single instance of the ballad measure, God's visit to the Garden of Eden in the play of the Fall of Man. It is not used to any extent until after the Virgin play in the Trial of Joseph and Mary and a few of the plays immediately following that. Then it does not occur again before the last part of the Crucifixion and is used generally in the plays dealing with the Resurrection. There is no extensive use of couplets; but when they do appear, it is in scenes that it would seem must have been parts of the original cycle.

A study of the stage-directions also substantiates the theory that the Prologue represents an early stage in the development of the cycle; since those parts which correspond most closely with the Prologue employ simple Latin stage-directions; whereas the later and more complicated portions of the cycle use English stage-directions as follows:

Entirely Latin	{	Fall of Lucifer Fall of Man Cain and Abel Noah's Flood Abraham and Isaac Moses and the Tables Prophets
English and Latin	{	The Barrenness of Anna Mary's Presentation in the Temple
Latin	{	Mary's Betrothal
English and Latin	{	Salutation and Conception
None	{	Joseph's Trouble about Mary
English and Latin	{	The Visit to Elizabeth

Entirely Latin	{	The Trial of Joseph and Mary Joseph and the Midwives The Adoration of the Shepherds The Adoration of the Magi
English and Latin	{	The Purification
Entirely Latin	{	The Slaughter of the Innocents, etc. Christ and the Doctors The Baptism of Christ The Temptation The Woman Taken in Adultery The Resurrection of Lazarus
Entirely English	{	Council of the Jews and Entry The Last Supper The Betrayal Herod and Christ before Caiaphas
Prevailingly English (with the exceptions noted)	{	Actual Trial before Caiaphas | Et clamabunt omnes | Et percuciet super caput | Et cantabit gallus Trial before Pilate and Herod | Et clamabunt Pilate's Wife's Dream and | Hic unus afferet aquam Second Trial before Pilate | Et clamabunt | Et curret | Et clamabunt omnes Crucifixion | Hic quasi semimortua, etc. | Tunc transiet Maria ad Templum Harrowing of Hell Burial and Setting | Tunc ibunt ad sepulcrum Pilate, etc. of the Watch
Entirely Latin (with the one exception noted)	{	Second Harrowing of Hell and Resurrection The Three Maries Mary Magdalene Maria Magdalen goth to the grave and wepyth and seyth Peregrini and Thomas Ascension Pentecost Assumption of the Virgin Doomsday

The question of the method of presentation of these plays is still an unsolved problem. Mr. Davidson⁷⁸ is of the opinion that the Hegge plays, as he calls them, were not presented in separate pageants, but that the entire cycle was intended for presentation in three successive days or years. He

⁷⁸ *Studies in English Mystery Plays*, pp. 172-174.

also suggests that the same tree was used in the Cherry-tree episode and in the play of the Three Kings.⁷⁴ Mr. Thompson⁷⁵ divides the cycle, for purposes of presentation, into five groups, each of which, he believes, was acted on a separate vehicle. These five groups are as follows:

1. The Old Testament group, comprising the first seven plays.
2. The Barrenness of Anna to the Visit to Elizabeth.
3. The Trial of Joseph and Mary to the Dispute of Christ and the Doctors.
4. The Baptism to the Betrayal.
5. The rest of the cycle, which he believes was acted during the second year, as stated by Contemplacio in his prologue to the Herod play.

We have seen reasons in the appearance of the manuscript and in the fact that the play of Abraham and Isaac ends with an "Explicit" to believe that the first five plays, rather than the first seven, were regarded as a single unit. The sixth and seventh plays of Moses and the Prophets we have considered as belonging to the Nativity and not to the Old Testament group.

Mr. Thompson's second group is identical with what we have termed the Virgin play. For the performance of this play the following properties and stations were necessary: A temple with an altar and something to represent the fifteen steps that Mary ascended; a space outside of the temple, for one of the directions specifies "*recedant tribus extra templum*"; stations to represent the homes of Anna and Joachim, of Mary and Joseph, and of Elizabeth and Zacharias. Moreover, some device must have been contrived in order to represent heaven; for we have, in addition to the dispute of the Four Daughters of God, the Council of the Trinity, and others which take place in heaven, repeated directions that angels shall descend from heaven and again ascend. We also have a choir in heaven. In the play of the Visit to Elizabeth we are told that Joseph and Mary walk "*circa placeam*" on their way to the house of Elizabeth. All this elaborate machinery could not have been carried about on a vehicle; but, as has been suggested before, the whole play must have been presented on a fixed stage.

In the discussion of the plays concerned with the Passion and Resurrection, it was pointed out that there was a similar group of plays where the use of a stationary stage was even more clearly indicated than in the case of the Virgin play. This group began with the Council of the Jews and ended with the Burial and Setting of the Watch, thus comprising parts of Mr. Thompson's fourth and fifth groups. The plays which follow this group are much more simple in action and stage-directions, many of them being announced by "Incipits" and ended by "Explicits," so that it is not necessary to believe that they were acted on the same stage as the Passion play.

⁷⁴ Halliwell, pp. 145, 146, and 164.

⁷⁵ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxi.

This Passion play may have been presented in two divisions or scenes, as indicated by *Contemplacio*; but the properties in the two parts are sufficiently alike to indicate that the same stage was used in the two parts. In the first part we have scaffolds for Annas and Caiaphas which they occupy when the play opens, and continue to retain until they take part in the action, when they descend into "the place." The first scene of the council is said to take place in the "myd-place," that is somewhere between Annas' and Caiaphas' stations. Then we are told that in the scene of the Entry, Christ rides out of "the place." This place must have been large and divided into two parts during such plays as the Last Supper, where the scene shifts from the Supper to the Council and we are told that one place or the other shall suddenly uncloze. After Judas has made his arrangements with the Jews, the Council breaks up and the priests go again to their scaffolds. After this Christ walks from the part of "the place" where he has been keeping the Last Supper to Gethsemane. The part of "the place" that was previously used for the Council may here have been used for the garden. After the usual scene in the garden a direction states that Jesus goes into "the place" where the soldiers are who have come to capture him. This is probably the part that was previously used for the Last Supper. Then Jesus is led out of "the place" to Annas and Caiaphas.

The second part of the play begins with a procession after which Annas, Caiaphas, Herod, and Pilate take their scaffolds. It seems that Herod's station was surrounded by a curtain, for after Jesus has appeared before Pilate the first time, we are told that "Herowdys scaffold xal uncloze shewing Herowdes in astat, alle the Jewys knelyng, etc." In this part of the play there must have been a spot to represent Hell. Before Lucifer goes to Pilate's wife he speaks to the devils in hell. A station for Pilate's wife was also needed. The scene of the second trial before Pilate calls for a court room which was not the same as Pilate's scaffold, for we are told that he returns to his station after he has pronounced sentence. The action here takes place both within and without the court room. After this point Pilate and the high priests presumably remain on their scaffolds until they come down to put the inscription on the cross of Christ. Then they again return to their stations where Pilate receives Joseph's request for the body of Christ and the high priests' request for a watch. When the watch go to the tomb, Pilate, Annas, and Caiaphas accompany them, but return again to their scaffolds, where if the Passion play extends so far, they will receive the report of the watch. The scenes of the crucifixion and the burial naturally demand a station for the three crosses and one for the tomb; certainly also the Temple to which Mary, the mother of Christ, retires.

Granted, then, that the plays of the Life of the Virgin and the Passion were acted on fixed stages, the question still remains as to how the other

plays were presented. It is possible that the Old Testament plays (i. e., the first five of the cycle) were acted on one movable pageant, although the introduction of a movable ark in the Noah play renders this unlikely. The use of the word "pageant" in the Prologue together with the frequent "Incipits" and "Explicits" that often mark off individual plays, would seem to me to indicate that our original cycle, represented by the Prologue, was acted on a series of pageants; and that when the later modification took place some of the "Incipits" and "Explicits" were retained, whereas the greater part of them were omitted.

If we grant that the play of the Assumption of the Virgin was acted in a church, it may be possible that parts of the cycle, as it now stands, were acted on a fixed stage, and other parts, on movable pageants. It is possible that the plays which precede the Virgin play were acted on movable vehicles, and then that the procession stopped and presented on a fixed stage the plays dealing with the life of the Virgin. After this the procession resumed its way through the streets, presenting the plays which intervene between the Virgin and the Passion plays. The scenes presenting the Passion were again played on another fixed stage, after which the players proceeded to the church where the Assumption, and possibly the Judgment, were given.

Two circumstances, however, point to another interpretation, which I believe to be more plausible. In the play of Noah's Flood, after the Lamech episode, we are told that Noah enters with his ship.⁷⁶ Again in the play of the Trial of Joseph and Mary this direction occurs, "Hic intrabit pagentum de purgatione Mariae et Joseph" (p. 132). These stage-directions seem to me to indicate that the audience was stationary and that such movable pageants, as were used in the performance, were rolled in before the audience. In any case, *Ludus Coventriae* bears evidence of a change from the traditional Corpus Christi cycle acted on moveable pageants to a more elaborate play on a fixed stage.

⁷⁶ Halliwell, p. 46.

NOTE ON THE HOME OF LUDUS COVENTRIAE

It has never been known where the cycle of mystery plays published by the Shakespeare Society in 1841 as "Ludus Coventriae: a Collection of Mysteries formerly represented at Coventry on the Feast of Corpus Christi," were acted, although it has long been known that they are not the Coventry plays. The editor of the cycle, J. O. Halliwell(-Phillips), follows a tradition to the effect that this cycle was formerly acted by the Grey Friars of Coventry. The first connection of the manuscript with Coventry is an entry on folio 1*r, said by Halliwell to be in the handwriting of Dr. Richard James, librarian to Sir Robert Cotton to the following effect: "Contenta Novi Testamenti scenice expressa et actitata olim per monachos sive fratres mendicantes; vulgo dicitur hic liber Ludus Coventriae, sive Ludus Corporis Christi; scribitur metris Anglicanis." The manuscript had formerly belonged to Robert Hegge of Durham, a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; he has written his name on it in several places. At his death in 1630 the manuscript passed into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton. Halliwell states on the basis of a letter in the Cottonian collection¹ that James was about that time engaged at Oxford in collecting manuscripts for Sir Robert Cotton. The only other descriptive entry on the manuscript is at the top of folio 1r: "The plaie called Corpus Christi." This is in a seventeenth-century hand, I should think, but not the hand of Robert Hegge, as stated by Mr. S. B. Hemingway,² or that of James in the preceding entry. Sharp attributes the former entry to Dr. Smith, a later Cottonian librarian, who enters it in a catalogue of the Cottonian MSS. in 1696, as "A collection of plays, in old English meter: *h. e.* Dramata sacra, in quibus exhibentur historiae veteris et N. Testamenti, introductis quasi in scenam personis illic memoratis, quas secum invicem colloquentes pro ingenio finget Poeta. Videntur olim coram populo, sive ad instruendum sive ad placendum, a Fratribus mendicantibus representata." It should be noted with regard to the former entry that James does not say that the cycle is "Ludus Coventriae," but merely that "vulgo dicitur Ludus Coventriae." It is obvious that James had not read the plays, since he speaks of "Contenta novi testamenti," whereas there are Old as well as New Testament subjects treated. It may or may not be significant that Dr. Smith says nothing about Coventry.

The connection of this cycle with Coventry was perpetuated by the following passage from Dugdale's *History of Warwickshire*, edition of 1656, page 116:³ "Before the suppression of the monasteries, this city [Coventry]

¹ The reference, as given by Halliwell, p. vii, is Cotton. Julius, C. iii, fol. 193.

² *English Nativity Plays*, p. xxix.

³ Halliwell, pp. ix-x; Sharp, *Dissertation*, p. 5 ff.

was very famous for the pageants that were played therein, upon Corpus-Christi day; which occasioning very great confluence of people thither from far and near, was of no small benefit thereto; which pageants being acted with mighty state and reverence by the friars of this house [the Gray Friars of Coventry], had theaters for the several scenes, very large and high, placed upon wheels, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of spectators: and contained the story of the New-Testament, composed into old English Rithme, as appeareth by an ancient MS. (in bibl. Cotton. sub effigie Vesp. D. 9 [8]) intituled *Ludus Corporis Christi*, or *Ludus Coventriae*.⁴ I have been told by some old people, who in their younger years were eye-witnesses of these pageants so acted, that the yearly confluence of people to see that shew was extraordinary great, and yielded no small advantage to this city."

Thomas Sharp, writing in 1825, perceived that *Ludus Coventriae* "were no part of the Plays or Pageants exhibited by the Trading Companies of the City," but he did not reject Dugdale's tradition as to plays by the Grey Friars, and this he thought might be the cycle they had acted. In this opinion he is followed by Halliwell. Sharp cites an entry in the Coventry Annals, "solitary mention in one MS. (not older than the *beginning* of Chas. I.'s reign) of Henry VIIth's visit to the City in 1492, 'to see Plays acted by the Grey Friars.'" In this I think we may find the source of Dugdale's error. Dugdale was born in 1605, and the Coventry Corpus Christi plays were discontinued in 1580. He pretends to give only a somewhat general tradition as to the plays and the crowds that they attracted. This vague tradition is rendered definite for him by two things; the first is the note on the MS. by James. James died in 1638, and Dugdale, according to Sharp, page 6, was introduced to Sir Thomas Cotton and the Cottonian MSS. that year. Sir William Dugdale was working on his *History of Warwickshire* as early as 1642, and, according to the Dictionary of National Biography, was using Sir Thomas Cotton's library in 1652, and no doubt used it a great deal during the years he was at work on the book. The second document that misled him was the MSS. Annals. There are at least four of these books of annals still to be found in manuscript.⁵ Two, A. 26 and A. 43, are among the Corporation manuscripts at Coventry; neither is of very great age, and both contain pretty much the same materials: lists of mayors, notable or miraculous events, and a number of mentions of plays. There are also two at the British Museum, Harl. 6388 and 11346 Plut. CXLII. A.; the latter is of no great value as regards pageants. Harl. 6388 was written by Humphrey Wanley, and is dated Dec. 17, 1690. Wanley says: "This book was taken out of

⁴ In his MS. according to Halliwell, Dugdale says: "In that incomparable library belonging to Sir Thomas Cotton, there is yet one of the bookes which perteyned to this pageant, entituled *Ludus Corporis Christi*, or *Ludus Coventriae*."

⁵ On this subject, see a fuller account in my edition of *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, E. E. T. S., p. xix ff.

manuscripts, the one written by Mr. Cristofer Owen Mayor of this citty which contains the charter of Walter de Coventre concerning the commons *etc.* to Godfrey Leg Mayor 1637, the other beginning at the 36 mayor of this citty and continued by several hands and lately by Edmund Palmer late of this citty . . . , and another written by Mr. Bedford and collected out of divers others and continued to Mr. Septimius Bott. And two other collected by Tho. Potter and continued to Mr. Robert Blake, and another written by Mr. Francis Barnett, to the first year of Mr. Jelliffs Majoralty, and another written by Mr. Abraham Astley, and continued to Mr. Sept. Bott, and another written by Mr. Abraham Boune to Humfrey Wrightwick, 1607." In Dugdale's *Warwickshire* there is also a list of mayors of Coventry with annals. Sharp quotes *MS. Annals* and *Codex Hales*, and there was at least one copy of Coventry annals in the Birmingham Free Reference Library at the time of the fire in 1879, so that Sharp may represent an original.

The entry with which we have to do is given as follows: "Corp. MSS. A. 26 and A. 43: Thomas Churchman, bucklemaker, Mayor, 1492. This year the King and Queen came to Kenilworth; from thence they came to Coventry to see our plays at Corpus Christide and gave them great commendation. Dugdale and 11346 Plut. CXLII. A: In his Mayoralty K. H. 7. came to see the playes acted by the Grey Friars and much commended them. Harl. 6388: The King and Queen came to see the playes at the greyfriars and much commended them." The entry as given in Dugdale gave rise to the impression in his mind, I think, as it certainly did in the mind of Thomas Sharp, that there were plays in Coventry acted by the brotherhood of the Grey Friars. James's note had suggested monks or mendicant friars; here was this entry in the Coventry annals which he prints. It is easy to see that we have to do with a misunderstanding. "Acted by the Grey Friars" need not mean that grey friars were the actors; but may mean "at the Gray-friars church." The grey-friars was a common way of indicating the church. Wanley so understands the entry, for he says in Harl. 6388, "to see the playes at the greyfriars." He worked from a large number of manuscripts, and there is no doubt but that the entry means simply that the King and Queen watched the Corpus Christi play as it was presented by the craft guilds in front of the Grey Friars church, where there would certainly have been a station; just as Queen Margaret had seen them at a station in Earl Street in 1456.

The only mention of a place of performance in the cycle itself is at the end of the general Prologue:

A Sunday next, yf that we may,
At vj. of the belle we ginne oure play,
In N. towne, wherfore we pray,
That God now be Youre Spede.⁶

⁶ Halliwell, p. 18.

This was understood by somebody. Sharp does not say whom,⁷ to indicate a series of plays for exhibition at Corpus Christi festival generally, rather than expressly for Coventry, since N. (nomen) is the usual mode of distinguishing a person or place under such circumstances, "as N. stands in the marriage ceremony unto this day."⁸ Halliwell says, "If the opinion I have formed of their locality be correct, I can account for this by supposing that the prologues of the vexillators belong to another series of plays, or that these mysteries were occasionally performed at other places. . . . it must be confessed that the conclusion would suit a company of strolling players much better than the venerable order of the Grey Friars."⁹ The idea that *Ludus Coventriae* is the play-book of a strolling company has been very generally entertained since that time. Ten Brink follows that idea and assigns their dialect to the North-East Midlands; so also Pollard.¹⁰ Ten Brink's conclusion as to dialect is in part confirmed by a study of the dialect by M. Kramer, *Sprache und Heimat des sogen. Ludus Coventriae*, who, however, thinks that the plays are of southern origin but rewritten in the North-East Midlands. Chambers does not consider the strolling company hypothesis as proved. He perceives that they are stationary plays in their present form, but does not take the trouble to ascertain that the manuscript is divided into separate plays, although the numbers are large and in red. Another mistake he makes is that, although he sees that the Prologue must have been written for the plays, he thinks that it is later in date than they are. It represents, as Miss Swenson's dissertation clearly shows, an earlier, purely cyclic stage of the same plays. Still Chambers does not rule out the idea that we have to do in the Hegge cycle with a series of craft-plays. He suggests Norwich and says that the elaborate treatment of the legends of the Virgin suggests a performance, like that of the Lincoln plays, and of the Massacre of the Innocents in the Digby MS., on St. Anne's day (July 26).

I wish to make the last suggestion much more definitely, having arrived at considerable certainty with regard to it from other points of view. There are, I think, good reasons for fixing upon Lincoln as the home of these plays. The somewhat scanty records of the Lincoln plays seem to point to a Corpus Christi play which was transferred to St. Anne's day, and acted regularly as a St. Anne's play until near the middle of the sixteenth century. It was apparently an ordinary cyclic play with certain features appropriate to St. Anne's day. The so-called Coventry cycle, or to use the name of a former owner of the manuscript, the Hegge cycle, is unique in the possession of a group of plays dealing with the nativity and childhood of the Virgin Mary, a

⁷ Sharp, p. 7.

⁸ See also J. P. Collier, *History of Dramatic Poetry*, II, p. 156.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. xi.

¹⁰ Ten Brink, *English Literature*, II, p. 283; A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, p. xxxvii. A. R. Hohlfeld, *Die Kollektivmysterien*, *Anglia*, XI, p. 228, suggests that the Grey Friars went on the road with their play.

subject of unmistakable connection with St. Anne's day. The Corporation records show that each Lincoln alderman was required to furnish a silk gown for one of the "kings" in the procession of St. Anne. This has been supposed to refer to the Three Kings of Cologne in the Magi play; but there were only three of the magi, and there must have been more than three aldermen. The Hegge prophet play calls for no less than thirteen kings, and is, moreover, unique among prophet plays. The prophets foretell the birth of Mary and not of Jesus. The play might be described as a dramatic form of the mediaeval theme of the "Root of Jesse." They had, as we shall see presently, some special kind of prophet play known particularly as *visus*, or "sights," though the name was applied to the whole St. Anne's play too, and this Jesse, it is so called in the manuscript, with the accompanying Virgin plays would be most appropriate.

The available information about the Lincoln plays is contained in the 14th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission,¹¹ and in an article entitled *Some English Plays and Players* by Mr. A. F. Leach in the Furnivall Miscellany. Canon Wordsworth has also published a few bits of information in his *Lincoln Statutes* and his *Notes on Mediaeval Services in England*. One can not be sure whether or not the principal manuscripts have been read carefully for the purpose of getting all possible information about the plays, or whether a study of completer forms of the references already found might not yield a good deal more information than they do in their imperfect versions. The Chapter Act Books and the Chapter Computi seem particularly promising. The Historical MSS. Report on the Manuscripts of the Dean and the Chapter of Lincoln¹² gives no information, and that which we have comes from Mr. Leach's article.

We know of unusual dramatic activities on the part of vicars of the choir and clerks of the Cathedral in the thirteenth century from the hostile writings of Bishop Grosseteste.¹³ He denounces *ludos* and *miracula* together with the Feast of Fools. In 1390 the vicars and clerks are still liable to censure because they dressed like laymen, laughed, shouted, and acted plays, which they commonly and fitly called the Feast of Fools.¹⁴ There was apparently much dramatic activity in the minster. Chapter Computi for 1406, 1452, 1531, have entries of payments, "In serothecis emptis pro Maria et Angelo et Prophetis ex consuetudine in Aurora Natalis Dñi hoc anno."¹⁵ There is one very puzzling entry given by Canon Wordsworth¹⁶ in these terms: "In 1420 tithes to the amount of 8s 8d were assigned to Thomas

¹¹ Appendix, 8, pp. 1-120.

¹² *Hist. MSS.*, xii. App. 9, pp. 553 ff.

¹³ *Chambers*, ii. p. 100 *et passim*; Luard, *Letters of Robert Grosseteste*, (Rolls Series), 74, 162, 317.

¹⁴ Chapter Act Book quoted by Leach, p. 222.

¹⁵ These entries are given by Wordsworth, *Notes on Mediaeval Services*, p. 126, and *Lincoln Statutes*, ii. lv.

¹⁶ Wordsworth, p. 126.

Chamberleyn for getting up a spectacle or pageant ('cujusdam excellentis visus') called *Rubum quem viderat* at Christmas." This is possibly to be connected with the prophet play mentioned above, since Moses was in most versions of the *processus* the first prophet—hence the allusion to the burning bush—and with him possibly the play of the Tables of the Law.

Further references point to an identification of the Corpus Christi play with the play acted on St. Anne's day. Leach gives entries from a list of mayors and bailiffs of the reign of Henry VIII with annals of the city. Amongst the entries are references to plays, two being to the Corpus Christi play, namely, in 12 of Edw. IV, 1471-2, and 14 of Edw. IV, 1473-4. One of the Chapter Act books, according to Leach, has a reference in 1469 to the Show or Play of St. Anne. And if we trace this St. Anne's play by means of the Corporation Minute Book covering the early fifteenth century,¹⁷ we find that it was probably the Corpus Christi play under a new name. There were no doubt extensive changes in the play to make it more appropriate to St. Anne's day; but it is evidently, to all intents and purposes, a Corpus Christi play transferred to another date, a thing familiar in the Chester and Norwich Whitsun plays. The following entries will indicate the circumstances of the St. Anne's play so far as they can be determined from the materials at hand:

1515, 27 July. It is agreed that whereas divers garments and other "honorments" are yearly borrowed in the country for the arraying of the pageants of St. Anne's guild, but now the knights and gentlemen are afraid with the plague so that the "graceman" (chief officer of the Guild of St. Anne) cannot borrow such garments, every alderman shall prepare and set forth in the said array two good gowns, and every sheriff and every chamberlain a gown, and the persons with them shall wear the same. And the constables are ordered to wait upon the array in procession, both to keep the people from the array, and also to take heed of such as wear garments in the same.

1517, 10 June, 22 Sept. Sir Robert Denyas appointed St. Anne's priest . . . having yearly 5*l*, he promising yearly to help to the bringing forth and preparing of the pageants in St. Anne's guild.

1518, 16 June. Ordered that every alderman shall send forth a servant with a torch to be lighted in the procession with a rochet (1521, "an onest gowne") upon him about the Sacrament, under pain of forfeiture of 6*s* 8*d*, and also under like penalty, send forth one person with a good gown upon his back to go in the procession. That every constable shall wait on the procession on St. Anne's day by 7 of the clock . . . In 1525 the aldermen are each to provide a gown of silk for the kings. . . . It is ordered that every occupation shall prepare and apparel in all preparation except plate and cups ("ropes"). List of defaulters in 1526. In 1527 the parishioners of St. John Evang. in Wykford refuse to lend "honroments."

1519, 18 June. Agreed that every man and woman in the city, being able, shall be brother and sister in St. Anne's guild, and pay yearly 4*d*, man and wife, at the least.

Every occupation belonging to St. Anne's guild to bring forth their pageants sufficiently, upon pain of forfeiting 10*l*.

1521, 16 July. George Browne alderman, elected in the place of the graceman

¹⁷ *Hist. MSS.* xiv. App. 8, 1 p. 25 ff

of St. Anne's gild, complains that as the plague is reigning in the city he can not get such garments and "honourments" as should be in the pageants of the procession; wherefore it is agreed to borrow a gown of my lady "Powes" for one of the Maries, and the other Mary to be arrayed in the crimson gown of velvet that belongeth to the gild; and the prior of St. Katharine's to be spoken with to have such "honourments" as we have had aforetime.

30 Oct. The foundation of a priest to sing in the church of St. Michael upon the hill . . . with a proviso that the said chaplain shall yearly be ready to help to the preparing and bringing forth of the procession of St. Anne's day, and after Mr. Dighton's decease to be called for ever St. Anne's priest.

31 Dec. (?) Every alderman to make a gown for the kings in the pageant on St. Anne's day, and the Pater Noster play to be played this year.

1539, 18 July. Agreed that St. Anne's gild shall go up on the Sunday next after St. Anne's day in manner and form as it hath been had in time past.

12 Nov. The stuff belonging to St. Anne's gild to be laid in the chapel of the bridge, and the house in which it lieth to be let.

1540, 2 June. Agreed that St. Anne's gild shall go forward as it hath done in times past; that every alderman shall have a gown and a torch, and every sheriff to find a gown, and every occupation to bring forth their pageants according to the old custom, and every occupation that hath their pageants broken to make them ready against that day, on pain of forfeiting 20s.

1542, 10 June. St. Anne's gild to be brought forth the Sunday after St. James' day (St. Anne's day in 1539 and 1547).

On Nov. 14, 1545, the Great Gild made over its lands, tenements, and hereditaments for the relief of the city and its plate on the 5th of February, 1546. On Nov. 5, 1547, jewels, plate, and ornaments belonging to St. Anne's Gild are ordered sold for the use of the common chamber; but that year, 13 June, the procession and sight upon the Sunday next after St. Anne's day shall be brought forth as hath been in times past, and every occupation shall pay to the same as hath been accustomed.

1554, 6 July. Agreed at a Secret Council that St. Anne's gild with Corpus Christi play shall be brought forth and played this year, and that every craft shall bring forth their pageants as hath been accustomed, and all occupations to be contributories as shall be assessed.

1555, 3 June. St. Anne's gild to be brought forth as hath been heretofore accustomed.

To these entries add the following one summarized by Leach, page 224, "Again, on Nov. 12, 31 Henry VII, it was agreed by the Common Council that a large door should be made at the late schoolhouse that the pageants may be sent in, and rent was to be charged for warehousing of 4d. for each pageant, 'and Noy schippe 12d.'"

There were, therefore, a Corpus Christi play and a procession on St. Anne's day, directed by the mayor and the graceman; the guild priest helped in the preparation of the pageants; the host was carried in the procession; the content, so far as it can be determined, is normal; Noah, a play containing kings, an Ascension and an Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin.¹⁸ In 1555 the order is for "St. Anne's guild and Corpus Christi play." It is altogether probable that the entries in the annals for 1471-2, 1473-4, refer to the same play. The Hegge cycle has the striking quality of possessing elaborate St. Anne's day characteristics and of having

¹⁸ See below.

been at the same time, as it is stated in the Prologue, a Corpus Christi play. Both these plays and the Lincoln plays were apparently regularly acted on Sunday.

The Lincoln plays seem to have been processional, and yet to have been acted, at least in part, upon a fixed stage. We have, on the one hand, the records of the procession, and, on the other, a record which proves that the Assumption of the Virgin was acted in the nave of the cathedral. We possess, moreover, a list of stage properties which may reasonably be believed to have been employed in the Corpus Christi play, and were certainly the properties of a stationary stage. Leach, page 223, gives an entry in this form: "For example, in 1469, one of the Chapter Act Books (A. 2. 36, fol. 32) has a reference to the Show or Play of St. Anne. The Chapter provided for the expenses of J. Hanson, chaplain, about the show (*visum*) of the Assumption of the Virgin on St. Anne's day last past, given in the nave of the church, with a reward to him out of the money coming from the next opening of the high altar, i. e., of the collection box there." And again to quote the same authority, this time following more closely a passage in one of the "act-books or minute-books of the Chapter A. 31, f. 18:" "On Saturday, the Chapter Day, June, 1483, in the high choir of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mary of Lincoln, after compline, Sir Dean with his brethren, the Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, and Alford standing according to custom before the west door of the choir, and discussing the procession of St. Anne to be made by the citizens of Lincoln on St. Anne's day next, determined that they would have the play or speech (*sermonium*)¹⁹ of the Assumption or Coronation of the Blessed Mary repaired and got ready, and played and shown in the procession aforesaid, as usual in the nave of the said church. The question being raised at whose expense this was to be done: they said at the expense of those who were willing to contribute and give anything to it, and the rest to be met by the common fund and the fabric fund in equal shares, and Sir Treasurer and T. Alford were made surveyors of the work."

This state of things is exactly reflected in the Hegge cycle. The Prologue of the cycle is divided into pageants and the word is freely used in the Prologue. "Pageant" frequently meant the vehicle on which plays were acted and was usually associated with that idea. This Prologue contemplates a regular processional play; but what do we find? We find that the mass of the plays were acted on a fixed stage; so far as we find indications at all. Those which are unmodified and agree with the Prologue may possibly at any time, however late, have been acted on pageants. In two plays pageants were actually employed, namely, in the Noah play, where Noah goes out and

¹⁹ The proper reading is no doubt "*seremonium*" for "*ceremonium*"; see Chambers, ii. p. 379

brings in the ark, and then when the play is over, withdraws with it; and in the Trial of Joseph and Mary where the play begins with the stage-direction: "Hic intrabit pagentum de purgatione Mariae et Joseph."²⁰ Pageants may have been used in many other parts of the cycle for all you can tell from the manuscript. The cycle is, moreover, divided in the manuscript into separate plays, even when there is no break in the action. Now, why should this have been done? It seems to me that it was done to preserve the identity of these different plays, although they were no longer separate pageants; and that would have been necessary in order to preserve the responsibility of the different trading companies. This responsibility was preserved at Lincoln and thus fulfills the special conditions of the manuscript. The manuscript of the Hegge plays (Brit. Mus. Cotton MS. Vesp. D. viii.) shows the play of the Assumption of the Virgin written in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript, but evidently of about the same date as the other plays; it was incorporated in the manuscript at the time that it was made up. It is numbered and rubricated and even corrected in the hand of the scribe.²¹ It was evidently a separate play-book; another case of that is certainly the Passion play in two parts, the first pages of which look as if they had been exposed as outside covers. We evidently have to do with an "original" which has been made up of old and new parts. It is probably an official document analogous to the Corporation Register at York.

There is preserved at the back of a Lincoln Corporation minute-book²² the following entry of stage properties: 1564, July.—"A note of the perti . . . the properties of the staige . . . played in the moneth of July anno sexto regni, reginae Elizabethae, etc., in the tyme of the mayoralty of Richard Carter, whiche play was then played in Brodgaite in the seid citey, and it was of the storve of Tobias in the Old Testament. First, hell mouth with a neither chap; item, a prison with a coveryng; item, Sara ('s) chambre: lying at Mr. Norton's house in the tenure of William Smart. Item a greate idoll with a clubb; item, a tombe with a coveryng; item, the citie of Jerusalem with towers and pynacles; item, the citie of Raiges with towers and pynacles; item, the citie of Nynve; item, the King's palace of Nynve; item, olde Tobyes house; item, the Isralytes house and the neighbures house; item, the Kyngs palace at Laches; remanyng in Saynt Swythunes church. Item, a fymament with a fierve clowde and a duble clowde, in the custodye of Thomas Fulbeck, alderman." It has been suggested that some of these properties, if not all, are those of the defunct Corpus Christi play; but be that as it may, it is evident that a number of these properties could have been employed in presenting plays in the Hegge cycle. "Hell mouth with a

²⁰ Halliwell, pp. 46, 48, 132.

²¹ See *Athenaeum*, Aug. 16, 1913, and Mr. W. W. Grey's letter in same periodical Sept. 13, 1913.

²² *Hist. MSS.*, xiv. App. 8, pp. 57-8.

neither chap," "Jerusalem with towers and pynacles," a "tombe with a cover-yng," and a "fyrment with a fierye clowde and a duble clowde," could have been used in presenting the play of the Assumption of the Virgin. In the case of the first three it is not a matter of much significance; but with regard to the last-mentioned strange piece of mechanism it is certainly most significant to find evidence of its use. Before the death of the Virgin Mary she desires to see the Apostles, who are abroad in distant lands; suddenly St. John appears and says:

In Pheso I was prechyng a fer contre ryth,
And by a whyte clowde I was rapt to these hyllys.

Later all the Apostles suddenly appear; only Peter and Paul speak; Peter says:

In dyveris contreys we prechid of youre sone and his blis,
In dyveris clowdys eche of us was suddenly curyng;
And in on were brouth before youre yate here i-wys
The cause why no man cowde telle of oure comyng.

One further slight point of some value is that the Hegge play of the Assumption of the Virgin makes use of a choir and an organ, as if it were acted in a church.

The suggestion that the plays belonged to Lincoln has been made before, and there are apparent agreements in the matter of dialect and content with what we should expect to find there. The hypothesis explains at a glance many of the perplexities and problems which have involved the cycle. In fact it would be so rare to find in any other place such a set of conditions as those of Lincoln that the identification must gain in credibility the more it is considered. Lincoln was a great ecclesiastical center, and at that place we have a close and intimate connection between the cathedral clergy and the town plays, a set of circumstances which exactly accounts for the remarkable homiletic and apochryphal interest of the Hegge cycle.

In her recent paper, entitled "The Problem of the *Ludus Coventriae*,"²⁸ Miss M. H. Dodds has also reached the same general conclusion as Miss Swenson's study; namely, that the Prologue represents an earlier cycle which was the foundation of the present *Ludus Coventriae*; but disagrees widely with Miss Swenson's paper when she concludes that we have in *Ludus Coventriae* a composite made up of five cycles from five different places. Miss Swenson's conclusion is that we have to do with one cycle and the changes it has undergone in one place.

²⁸ *Modern Language Review*, vol. ix., pp. 79 ff.

Arguing from the last stanza of the general Prologue, she makes two statements with regard to the original N. Town plays: (1) That the plays must have been accurately described by the Prologue; (2) that they must have been founded upon stories from the Bible. With the first of these propositions I agree perfectly, and, in general, I agree that the earlier plays were simple and scriptural in their nature; but I find many disagreements with her application of the principles stated.

In the first place, Miss Dodds' study of the relations between Prologue and plays has taken no account of meters, nor of minor differences in incident, and an insufficient account of stage-directions. This leads her to conclude that the play dealing with the girlhood of the Virgin and the Easter play have been incorporated as wholes and not simply combined with old plays on the same subjects, and she makes no attempt to discriminate between old and new elements in these plays. She says that the first seven plays, including the Prophets, belong to the original cycle, but she fails to note the emphasis upon the Virgin both in the Prologue and the play of the Prophets and consequently concludes that all the plays treating the subject of the girlhood of the Virgin (Barrenness of Anna to the Visit to Elizabeth), as well as the stanzas in the Prologue which correspond to them, have been incorporated about 1468 by some compiler who was eager to glorify the Virgin.

The theory that the Prologue has been left intact except in the case of the quatrains numbered fourteen and fifteen, as noted by Miss Swenson above, and that the Girlhood plays are made up of old and new elements can not, I think, be refuted simply by the statement in the Prologue that

Of holy wryth this game xal bene
And of no fablys be no way.

The people of England in 1468 did not draw a very sharp distinction between those stories which were definitely in the Bible and those generally accepted as "gospel truth" by the Church at large. Such stories as the Betrothal of Mary might be included and accepted as very truth and "no fablys." Miss Dodds also fails to notice the strange mixture of elements in the Easter cycle; although in this case she concludes somewhat inconsistently that the Prologue has been allowed to stand as it was. The play thus incorporated, or, as I think, the play thus rewritten, she would end with the Three Maries. It seemed to Miss Swenson more probable, from a study of meter, stage-directions, and minute differences in incident, and also because the prologue spoken by Contemplacio promises only a Passior. play (not a Resurrection play) that the influence ends with the scene of the Burial.

There is, I think, no reason for considering the plays from the Adoration

of the Shepherds to the Death of Herod as a separate cycle, as Miss Dodds does. They are not self-consistent in style or independent of the rest of the cycle in style or meter, but seem to be a normal Nativity group. The Purification is evidently from a different source altogether. It is not mentioned in the Prologue and is in a meter rarely used in the cycle; but otherwise the Nativity group has seemed to me to belong with the rest of the cycle. And so I should not agree that any of Miss Dodds' five groups are independent of the cycle or imported from the outside.

There are other significant omissions in Miss Dodds' paper; such as her failure to make note of such excrescences as the Lamech episode, the Cherry-tree episode, and in general the passages written in tumbling meter; also the way in which stage-directions are employed and plays introduced and concluded and many points of disagreement between Prologue and cycle; but these will be sufficiently plain by a comparison of her paper with the preceding one by Miss Swenson.

The University of Minnesota

STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

NUMBER 2

OTHELLO: AN HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE

Though in size and form it is a monograph, this study is to be considered only as another in the series which began, in 1910, with the essay "Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism," in *Modern Philology*, and has, at varying intervals and in various publications, continued since. Collected and revised, these studies will appear again, I trust, in a more permanent form. Meantime I gladly avail myself of the opportunity to express my gratitude to those scholars who have taken an interest in my work, and have, at this point or at that, frankly expressed their approval or disapproval.

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OTHELLO

Il [Shakespeare] n'a pas besoin d'être loué, mais d'être compris, et il ne peut être compris qu'à l'aide de la science.—Taine.

Un crítico sabe en nuestros días que su gusto personal no tiene valor, que debe hacer abstracción de su inclinación, de su partido, de sus intereses, etc.—Menéndez y Pelayo.

Ma la critica storica tende appunto a circoscrivere le fantasticherie, e a stabilire con esattezza il punto di vista dal quale bisogna guardare.—Croce.

I hope that the reader will bear with me while so familiar a figure as Othello is, at such length, discussed once again. Hitherto he has hardly been studied in the light of Comparative Literature; hitherto he has hardly been studied even as a bit of Elizabethan art. But the problems of one play are, in varying degrees, those of other plays like it, whether Shakespearean or merely Elizabethan, whether modern or ancient; and art, not life, furnishes the clearer and more pertinent comment on art, problems the only solution to problems. Chief among these in the play before us are certain relations of character to plot, and the measure of the dramatist's concern for the consistency of his characters, and of his interest, conscious or instinctive, in what is nowadays called psychology. And these we shall prove to have been studying only in all their extension and amplitude, I hope, at moments when we may have seemed to be wandering afield. A precise and formal unity does not greatly concern us: in order to get at the truth about Othello we shall examine many another character, and we hope to get at the truth about many another character in examining Othello. Really, not the Moor, but the art with which he is exhibited, is our theme.

"One defect in the play which has been felt by all critics," says Lewes, in 1875, in the essay on *Actors and the Art of Acting*, "is the rapidity with which Othello is made to believe in his wife's guilt." A very few of the critics have even said that they felt it. Among these are dramatic critics so enlightened as Bulthaupt and Mr. William Archer—"Othello, when we look into it," says the latter, "succumbs with incredible facility,"—as well as literary critics such as Snider and Mr. Frank Harris. If nothing else, they have for their warrant the repeated utterances in the text itself—Emilia's, Desdemona's, Iago's, Othello's own. According to these, and in keeping with the actual presentation of the character, the hero is "not easily jealous," not jealous by nature, and yet, within a single scene, he becomes jealous terribly, irrecoverably, as no man ever was. Indeed, as at least two of the

critics seem to have recognized, the character is inconsistent not at this point only but throughout.

The Moor is of a free and open nature,
That thinks men honest that but seem to be so;

yet in trusting his cynical subaltern, who has not been on terms of friendship with him, he thereby distrusts his dearest friend and his newly wedded wife. He is one, says Lodovico, "whom passion could not shake"—"Can he be angry?" asks even Iago in wonder,¹—and up to the moment of Cassio's disgrace, in fact, one might say up to the moment of temptation, never was there, in trying circumstances, anyone so serene, disengaged, and dignified as he; yet, at a man's word, he falls a prey to the wildest and grossest of passions, cries aloud for "blood," vows to "tear her all to pieces," "chop her into messes," and throw her lover's "nose to the dogs," and forthwith seeks the death of both. He is a general of renown, "the noble Moor whom our full Senate call all in all sufficient," and in Venice, even in the opinion of his unadmiring Ancient, "another of his fathom they have none to lead their business," his mind being no less ample than his heart; yet so tamely, so precipitately—without judgment, consideration of evidence, or perception of character, whether Iago's, Cassio's, or his wife's—does he succumb to covert suggestion and open slander and every stratagem brought to bear, that critics of such eminence as Mr. Stopford Brooke have been driven to cry, with Emilia, "O gull, O dolt, as ignorant as dirt," and ascribe his fall chiefly to his lack of wit. He is, as men go, pure in heart, all for war and not a bit for amorous self-indulgence, and "but that he loved the gentle Desdemona he would not have put his unhoused, free condition into conscription and confine for the sea's worth," begs that she may accompany him to Cyprus, not to please the palate of his appetite, but to be free and bounteous to her mind, and hastens away to war, "this night" and "with all his heart," without her; yet he is presently filled with sensual imaginings, and treats Desdemona as "a cunning whore of Venice," and Emilia as her go-between, in so far that the moralizing Snider² and Heraud³ are persuaded that the root of the trouble is that he has all the suspiciousness of a guilty conscience

¹ III, 4, 134ff. Iago knows better, of course, from recent experience, but he seems in these lines to be playing innocent on the strength of Othello's known reputation, if indeed his speech be not merely a *mot d'auteur*.

² Snider (*System*, i. p. 111) and Gervinus (Eng. ed. 1877, pp. 510, 530), touch upon the contradiction but devise no means to obviate it.

³ Furness, *Variorum Othello*, p. 422, where Heraud infers from the scene in which Othello throws his purse to Emilia that he had indeed "poured his treasures into foreign laps," had been no celibate, and by this inlet had suffered suspicion and jealousy to enter in. One wonders how many of Shakespeare's unmarried heroes would have turned out to be celibate had the poet been interested enough to say. The question troubled Dumas *fil*s in so far as it concerned the heroes of Molière. For big or little, Dumas or Heraud, it has great importance today. But for Molière or Shakespeare the question would probably have been, not whether the character was chaste or celibate, but whether he was an ascetic or a libertine.

and that the Ancient's doubts concerning him and Emilia are reasonable and just.

What is to be made, we ask ourselves, of this great heap of contradictions? Critics have been stumbling at them, more or less unconsciously, ever since the days of Rymer, but Bulthaupt and Mr. Frank Harris seem to be the only ones who have quite opened their eyes and seen. "The truth of the matter is that in the beginning of the play Othello is a marionette fairly well shaped and exceedingly picturesque; but as soon as jealousy is touched upon the mask is thrown aside: Othello the self-contained captain disappears, the poet takes his place," etc. And on the truth of the matter Mr. Harris may there have laid his finger, although he proceeds to take this inconsistency, like every other in a Shakespearean hero, for an intrusion of the poet's personality, and for the moment seems strangely blind to the beauty of the chief figure in the play.

Bulthaupt contents himself with demonstrating that Othello's precipitate credulity is unmotivated.¹ Everybody else, so far as I am aware, has recourse to some one or other of the approved means for preserving to us a Shakespearean character's dubious identity—Fate or a distracted order of society, the all-compelling arts of the villain, the blinding of passion, the extraordinary circumstances of the marriage, racial and social characteristics and differences, Desdemona's duplicity, the hero's or heroine's stupidity, or (taking the bull fairly by the horns) mere psychology itself. Another interpretation, which explains, but makes no attempt to explain away, the contradiction, is, that we have here the simple convention of the calumniator believed, as old as the story of Potiphar's wife or of the wicked counselors of Germanic heroic legend, which, though modified, constantly reappears in drama, ancient, Elizabethan, or modern, down almost to Ibsen's day.²

Accustomed to modern methods of dramatic art, which involve analysis and psychology, the critics, naturally enough, cannot conceive of a man so readily becoming suspicious and violently passionate and sensual, stupid or bereft of dignity, without being such at bottom from the first. Especially has this been the case with the Germans. With Schlegel, they have taken the Moor's dignity and virtue for the crust of discipline and Venetian culture, through which might break, at any moment, the red lava of sexual passion and barbarism, or, with Gervinus, Ulrici, and Wetz, have thought that his later passions were within him, though in the germ. One of them has

¹ *Dramaturgie des Schauspiels* (1894), ii, p. 224

² *Modern Philology*, July, 1912, my article, "Criminals in Shakespeare and Science," p. 75.—Saben, counselor to Hugdietrich, and Sibich, counselor to Ermanrich, are like the Sir Aldingar of the old ballad, and like many another in balladry and legend mentioned by Child in his introduction, ii, pp. 33-34. So far as mere evidence goes, Aldingar is almost as well provided as Iago. He puts the leper in the Queen's bed and brings the King to see, while Iago gets the handkerchief into Cassio's hand. And the King, like Othello, will not give ear either to his wife or to him who is supposed to be her companion in crime.

even found *den stürmischen Ausbruch seines Innern* in the Moor's speeches to the Signoria,¹ the calmest and serenest, perhaps, that the poet ever penned. Others, and many Englishmen with them, have tried to bridge the chasm by insisting on the extraordinary and ticklish nature of the union, fitted to keep the black man uneasy and anxious, or have taken refuge in that which explains and rationalizes anything—the finger of Fate, or the cloud of passion, which seals up Othello's eyes alike to Desdemona's virtue and Iago's villainy, to say nothing of the weak spots in Iago's plot. What in Anglo-Saxon countries at least may be called the orthodox theory, however, is that in the first act and up to the temptation scene Shakespeare had fashioned a free and perfect soul, with no weakness but his trustfulness (if a weakness that be), and that he fell only by that and by Iago's guile. Such is the theory of Coleridge,² “a conviction forced upon him by the superhuman art of Iago, such a conviction as any man would and must have entertained who had believed Iago's honesty as Othello did;”²—and in the main it is held by Hazlitt, Ulrici and Gervinus, Dr. Brandes, Professors Bradley, Raleigh, Schelling, Thorndike, Wolff, and others. They are truer to the text than the rest, but as psychological, and far less logical and plausible in their psychology. They lightly take it that by insisting on the supremacy and malignity of Iago's art, the Moor's unsuspectingness and the tenderness and “vulnerability of the point of attack”—his trustfulness and his love for his wife—“every step of the appalling chain of intrigue becomes the natural outcome of the motives of the persons before you.”³ So far as Othello is concerned this might be the case if it were merely a struggle in which goodness is attacked by evil—if the Moor were not a great self-respecting personality instead of a subject for hypnosis—if the virtue (or weakness) of trustfulness, as well as his love, did not require *a fortiori* that he should trust his wife and friend at least as well as a stranger—if all his virtues, his intelligence, and the dignity of his character and position did not require that he should brush aside Iago's legerdemain of innuendo and mystery-mongering at a stroke, instead of being held fascinated from the beginning as is a bird or a monkey by a serpent.⁴ Their psychology simply pushes back the paradox a degree, instead of abolishing it; their psychology presumes that innocence inclines to a belief in guilt, rather than to a belief in innocence, and that the most trustful man is most capable of distrust.⁴ If there is any psychology in the play, this, to be sure, it must be; but I cannot see that there is any more than in the dictum of Iago, which takes it all for granted—

The Moor is of a free and open nature
That thinks men honest that but seem to be so—

¹ E. Traumann, *Jahrbuch*, xxxi, p. 257.

² *Lectures on Shakespeare* (Bohn ed.), p. 393.

³ A. H. Thorndyke, *Tragedy*, pp. 162-4.

⁴ See below, *passim*.

and summarily, theatrically lifts and floats us over contradiction and paradox as over a rock in the river. *Here is a working formula, a postulate or fundamental premise, which then did not demand or provoke investigation; and more than that the dramatist did not contemplate or require.●

It is profitable to turn from the theories of critics, however, to the practice of playwrights. In *Much Ado* as in *Cymbeline*, in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* as in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster* or even Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, the blameless hero, like Othello, blamably, unpsychologically believes whatever the slanderer (and the poet) would have him believe. All his intelligence and his nobility of soul, all his knowledge of his beloved's character and ignorance of the slanderer's, avail him nothing. Angelica's father and her lover Orlando cast her off on hearsay, without a word of questioning, or any remembrance of the purity of her past, not to believe in her again until the slander is contradicted by the witch Melissa, in Act Five. Claudio, trusting mere appearances and the testimony of a man who, he rightly thinks, "loves him not," "shames" Hero in the church (even the lady's father siding with him) without warning or word in private. Posthumus, accepting the circumstantial report of the stranger Iachimo without troubling to return, sends out of Italy orders for his lady's death. Philaster, though for the looks of things he draws his sword when Dion slanders Arethusa, fully credits the slander afterwards, and when he speaks to her and the boy, shows no trace of the spirit of inquiry but is deaf to all that they can say. And in Dryden's heroic drama the husband and the lover are still quicker to think the worst, and the husband would have his wife to the stake out of hand.² So, in a single scene, without giving his wife or his friend a hearing, Othello is led to the point of wishing to "tear her all to pieces," shouting "blood, blood, blood," and vowing, in company with Iago, the death of both; and though later he questions Desdemona and her woman, he is, like Philaster and Dolce's Herod, blind, deaf, and obdurate. And the passion of the heroes (Claudio of course is without it and Orlando's turns his wits) is, while it runs its course, made as violent and brutal as it is abrupt and unreasonable, and abounds in sensual imaginings and in outcries

* It cannot be too much insisted upon that the paradox was not intended. It appears in Othello, as in Falstaff, only when he is considered psychologically, having fallen into a critic's hands. See Morgann's *Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff*, and my article, "Falstaff," *Modern Philology*, October, 1914, p. 66 et seq. "A fierce thing made weak by his very strength," says Dowden; but such a problem is altogether out of the circle of Shakespeare's theatrical, unphilosophical art. He shows no consciousness of it, makes nothing of it, and paradoxes in character are not to be found, for that matter, even in Ibsen. The true parallel to the paradox in Othello lies in the other noble heroes made jealous, presently to be taken up, and in Masefield's Nan, below, pp. 51-2. Noble sentiments the dramatist seizes with one hand, murder with the other, and an indisputable dramatic effect with both. And to bring this to consummation, Shakespeare, in Othello and Posthumus, makes, by means of the omnipotent villain, his hero, who is not suspicious or jealous by nature, suspicious and jealous in fact, paradox or psychology never troubling or appearing.

² Pt. II, IV, iii, and V, 1, Almanzor's soliloquy. The illustrations from romantic drama might be accumulated without end.

against woman and wedded life. But out of this obscuration and eclipse the hero's old self, like Othello's, ultimately emerges. Well before the play is over he comes to his senses again; and he has been made noble that he may be lovable, and his jealousy is not spontaneous, not born and bred within. Through an arbitrary but immemorial convention, it is instilled into his soul by a villain's wiles.

With or without sexual jealousy, the convention of the calumniator credited is one of the oldest traditions of the drama. It reappears in Shakespeare's next play, *King Lear*, when Gloster, quite without reason, implicitly takes the word of the bastard (who repeats some of Iago's tricks) though it blackens his better known and equally beloved son. Here and elsewhere, without either proof demanded or a hearing given, the noble, intelligent father, lover, or king straightway contrives or compasses the death of the accused. The Viceroy in the *Spanish Tragedy* cries "Away with him!" the moment the slandered Alexander opens his mouth.¹ Theseus, in the tragedies of Euripides, Seneca, and Racine, once he has heard the charge, curses his son, and, claiming the promise of Poseidon, prays incontinently for his death.² Dolce's Tetrarch brings the charge himself and has no ears for anything but slander. And in Bounin's *Soltane* (1561) the despot simply wastes no words upon the matter but kills his son and heir at sight. No one, in fine, knows anyone, and short of the last scene of the last act anyone can be made to believe or disbelieve anything. And when one takes the notion to slander himself, charging himself, like Prince Malcolm, with every sin in the calendar, even a man of the world like Macduff must needs believe him, and at once disbelieve him again when all of it is unsaid.³ What is said is everything—the matter too and not the manner⁴—when a situation is at stake. What Iago and Richard, Goneril and Regan, Edgar and Cordelia, all their lives long, have done or been, counts, at the crucial moment, as against what they are now feigning or dissembling, for nothing at all.⁵ "Why let me see," says to himself Congreve's Maskwell, at a time when this ancient convention began to require a bit of explaining; "I have the same force, the same words and accents, when I speak what I do think, and when

¹ I, iii. In the Elizabethan drama such situations are not uncommon.

² *Phèdre* IV, ii. In Euripides and Seneca Theseus does not even wait till he has set eyes upon him. In Racine he asks what Phèdre meant by her vague and riddling words, and when Hippolyte chivalrously refers him to the lady herself, he takes the evidence of the sword, as Othello takes that of the handkerchief, and Oenone's report, as Othello Iago's.

³ See below, p. 26, for Othello's disbelieving Iago as promptly as he believed in him, once the machinery is reversed. And compare Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Pt. II, III, i, where Infelice charges herself with incontinence in order to get her husband to commit himself, and then turns the charge against him instead. For Malcolm see *Macbeth*, IV, iii.

⁴ The reason which Malcolm gives is the same as Iachimo's excuse when he withdraws his slanderous charges against Posthumus—the desire to put her to the proof—and if the speakers were flesh and blood, would, in either case, be superfluous or in vain. See below, p. 23, for the manners of honesty and dishonesty being the same.—*Cymbeline*, I, vi, 156-68.

⁵ See below, p. 7 and p. 47.

I speak what I do not think—the very same—and dear dissimulation is the only art not to be known from nature." Proof or probability is not required.

Of slander bringing about jealousy there is found a more modern form in such plays as Voltaire's *Zaïre* and Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, where the villain's function in bringing about the catastrophe is encroached upon or supplanted by the use of evidence worthier the name—by an external obstacle like the oath sealing the lips of the accused, or by conduct even more imprudent than Desdemona's own. But even here, as in any other form of the convention (whether with jealousy or without) there is not lacking the presumption that lovers, husbands and wives, fathers and sons, have no confidence in one another and next to no acquaintance. The men are as incapable of interpreting evidence or taking counsel¹—*tragische Verblendung*, the learned have it—as the women are of understanding what the men are about; and when the storm breaks these dodge the issue, weep or cower, or cry out "betrayed," "undone,"² instead of resting on their integrity and appearing as innocent as they are. Like Othello and Desdemona and the other Elizabethans, and Dolce's Herod³ and Marianna, neither man nor wife can be said to seek an explanation of the other—not Orosmane or Zaïre,⁴ not Luise or Ferdinand. Othello, Herod,⁵ and Ferdinand, at least, are resolved upon the death of the beloved even before they confront her, they confront her only to bring the charge, and the charge is so vague, sweeping, and furious that the poor thing has no chance to comprehend, still less to answer, it. Again and again the plot hangs as by a thread, for Othello and Orosmane, Zaïre and Desdemona, evade the one issue which common sense requires them to face—the name of the paramour. Desdemona indeed once faces it:

Des. To whom, my lord? With whom? How am I false?

Oth. Oh Desdemona! Away! away! away!

But it is Othello himself who turns away, there he conveniently drops the matter, and not till the death scene, when (as Othello thinks) "his mouth is stopped," is the putative paramour's name once again upon their lips. All

¹ Once his own suspicions are aroused, Dolce's Herod, for instance, though the Cup-bearer has contradicted his testimony and confessed, simply will not hear the reasonable advice the Councillor is giving him at his elbow, and though he talks with the Queen, only brings accusations, never seeks the truth. So Othello turns a deaf ear to Emilia when he questions her, and, as Thésée does with Hippolyte (IV, 2), gets into a rage when Desdemona defends herself. (V, ii, 56 ff.).

² Desdemona, V, ii, 76; Arethusa, *Philaster*, III, 2 "betrayed." Cf *Kabale und Liebe* V 2. *Luise* "Ich bin verloren, mich zu ermorden ist der da!" Ferdinand naturally takes it for a confession of guilt.

³ See, end of Act II, his resolve on the strength of his new suspicions.

⁴ They do at the earlier stages of the jealousy (like Luise, Zaïre is bound by an oath) but not after the intercepting of the letter.

⁵ I refer to his second jealousy, after the Cup-bearer's testimony has broken down. See below, p. 21, and above, note 1.

this is, by present-day standards, little short of claptrap. And though Voltaire, too, once has his hero shy away from the rival's name,

l'insolent qui t'adore,¹

he contrives, like Schiller, to thrust many of the difficulties out of character into the plot²—by means of the oath, the ambiguous letter, the naturally mistaken identity of the rival—provides the hero, as we said, with much better evidence and a stronger provocation, painstakingly motivates³ his decision not to confront Zaire with the letter in person, and even has him for a time allay his earlier jealousy, in part

by request and such fair question
As soul to soul affordeth;⁴

in part, as no other of these jealous heroes does, by looking in her face and bearing witness for himself to her purity and love:

Et son âme, éprouvant cette ardeur qui me touche,
Vingt fois pour me le dire a volé sur sa bouche. IV, 3.

Othello's

If she be false, O, then heaven mocks itself!
I'll not believe't . . .

has the striking theatrical effect, to be sure, which in the other is wanting, as well as passion and poetry; only, then and there he *does* believe it, immediately complains of his cuckold's forehead, and plunges headlong again into Iago's toils. Before this same scene is over he is raging for her blood, while Orosmane's recovery of faith, being more than a stage thrill or sensation, lasts until he receives the intercepted letter; and even then he does not condemn Zaire until he hears how she in turn receives it, near the end. All of Othello's evidence (the dream and the mere loss of the handkerchief are as nothing compared to Desdemona's inexplicable conduct and what the madman thinks he hears Cassio say) comes after he is convinced and resolved; but Orosmane's, like Ferdinand's, all before.⁵ That of itself might almost dispose of the psychology found lurking in the lines.

Whether in the older or the newer form, the tradition is even yet not extinct, but (however little that may mean to Shakespeare critics) it is now hopelessly discredited. The "wrongful assumption of guilt" is, once for all,

¹ *Zaire*, IV, vi.

² See, below, the situation, which of itself provokes jealousy, without merely unreasonable conduct on the part of the characters.

³ IV, v, by the counsel of Corasmin and by Orosmane's own pride.

⁴ See, for examples, *Zaire*, III, vi; IV, ii; vi.

⁵ Nérestan's and Zaire's affectionate interest and solitary conversations, Zaire's inexplicable avoidance of her husband, the favors she begs for Nérestan, her boon of solitude, and her going to the rendezvous.

listed as one of the seven "cardinal sins of the craft," along with the "aside, the soliloquy, impersonation, eaves-dropping, confidences, and the losing of papers,"¹ or (one might add) of handkerchiefs. At the least, the character, who assumes and suspects must now have the disposition rooted within him. How thoroughly external and unpsychological a device it is in Shakespeare appears most clearly, perhaps, in the case of Gloster in *King Lear* and Leonato in *Much Ado*, who have of course no motive such as has been urged, though without reason, in Othello's defense—lack of acquaintance² or a pre-disposition to jealousy—but have been fond and indulgent fathers. Leonato, harkening to Claudio, will not harken to Beatrice or the Friar or Hero herself, as if he cherished a grudge against her; and Gloster, giving heed to Edmund, is ready at once to make his lawful heir an outlaw and bring him to the stake.³

In Voltaire and Schiller the unnaturalness of the contrivance is, though less evident, not less real, then, than in Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher; but in their hands the character of the hero is not twisted into a paradox. Orosmane and Ferdinand are jealous in their own right; and though the circumstances which induce suspicion are far more to the purpose, both dramatists take pains actually to show traces of the trait⁴ before the jealousy begins. And there is no nightmare or eclipse of passion, out of which, at the end, the hero emerges with something of his pristine splendor, no grandiose dramatic effect such as that involved in the *Hercules Furens*—in Elizabethan times constantly, in various forms, repeated, though without a god for a cause—which more than atoned (if then, indeed, there was anything for which to atone) for the violence done the character. Neither Voltaire nor Schiller could take interest in a passion which is little less than a madness, whether coming as a visitation from on high or engrafted by a villain's guile.

The practice of playwrights as regards the convention having been examined, we now take up the various elements of the contradiction in Othello's character in order, jealousy first. Many critics, including Horn, Ulrici, Dowden, Hudson, Bulthaupt, and Dr. Eckhardt,⁵ have followed Coleridge in denying that his passion is jealousy; others, including Vischer, Wetz, Wilson, Mr. Stopford Brooke, and Mr. Frank Harris have contended that it is nothing else. Still others take the jealousy for granted, or like Profes-

¹ W. I. George, *Dramatic Actualities* (1914), p. 6. Any student of the modern drama will recognize the truth of this at once.

² See below, pp. 47-8.

³ *Lear*, II, i, 58-65.

⁴ *Zaire*, I, v, II, 309-10.

Je ne suis point jaloux . . . si je l'étais jamais,

Si mon cœur . . . Ah! chassons cette importune idée.

Kabale und Liebe, III, i: Wurm. "Der Herr Major ist in der Eifersucht schrecklich," and in III, 4 he is made to appear so before Wurm's plot has begun to work.

⁵ *Dialekt und Ausländer-typen* (1911, p. 174) He offers no evidence

sors Brandl and Bradley content themselves with saying that Othello's is not the ordinary sort. To deny that he is jealous in the end (whatever he was at first) is, as Wetz says, mere word-splitting. Coleridge's difficulty lay, however, not in the word or in the passion as here we have it, but, without his being aware, in the convention, which, amid his philosophical prepossessions, he could not comprehend. He insists on the "predisposition to suspicion" (which in Othello, he rightly declares, is wanting) as essential;¹ and yet does not see that, in the temptation scene and after, he is an altered, a different man, suspicious as a Turk. As such, he quite fills the bill of jealousy as drawn up—to prove that he did not fill it—by Coleridge himself:

1. "An eagerness to snatch at proofs."—As in the case of the dream and the handkerchief as well as in his intent and gaping wonder (of which we presently speak) at Iago's mysterious allusions in the beginning. When the dream is told Othello cries out at once, "O monstrous! monstrous!" as if he had never dreamed or been lied to before. Iago faint-heartedly pooh-poohs the dream, but Othello is quick to answer him:

But this denoted a foregone conclusion;

'Tis a shrewd doubt, though it be but a dream.

And when he hears of the handkerchief he is at once for blood.

If it be that—

O that the slave had forty thousand lives!²

2. "A grossness of conception and disposition to degrade the object of his passion by sensual fancies and images."—As, in his words, "lie with her and on her," "lips and noses," "goats and monkeys," and we need not further particularize.

3. "Catching occasions to ease the mind by ambiguities, equivokes, by talking to those who cannot, and who are known not to be able to, understand what is said to them."—As in his remarks about the pain in his forehead, and the handkerchief being too little, and in the various flings and innuendoes by which he carries out the fiction of his visit to Desdemona's bed-chamber as to a house of ill fame, Emilia being the bawd.

4. "A dread of vulgar ridicule."—As in his continual allusions to his being cuckolded, "a fixed figure for the time of scorn to point his slow unmoving finger at."

5. And "a spirit of selfish vindictiveness."—As in the outcries for blood, his vows to tear her to pieces, to chop her into messes, and to throw Cassio's nose to the dogs.

The only other characteristics indicated by Coleridge (besides, of course, the predisposition) are the "solitary moodiness" and the "confused, broken, and fragmentary manner" of dialogue. As for this last, a jerky or spasmodic utterance is peculiar to the Elizabethan comic jealous man—"horn-mad" (generally with the predisposition explicitly indicated) as are Master

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 530, 381; see *ibid.* for the five particulars which follow, and *Cf. Table Talk (Works, Shedd ed. vi, p. 285).*

² Harris, *The Man Shakespeare*, p. 283: "Othello was surely very quick to suspect Desdemona, he remembers Iago's first suspicious phrase, ponders it and asks its meaning. He is as quick as Posthumus was to believe the worst of Imogen, as quick as Richard II was to suspect his friends Bagot and Greene." etc.

Ford,¹ Kitely in *Every Man in his Humour*,² Maybery in *Northward Ho*,³ and peculiar (in less measure only) to the serious, though hardly tragic, characters Posthumus and Leontes.⁴

So all that Coleridge's distinctions come to is, that Othello, as he himself says, is "not easily jealous," and that he is not, in the freaks of his fancy, a vulgar cuckold. Indeed, it is possible that once when he asks for the handkerchief, he, too, shows, like Posthumus and Leontes, something of the comic figure's spasmodic and frantic utterance, comic though he is not.⁵ And in every other way he fills the bill, for Coleridge's description above is quite in keeping with the "humour" as exemplified on the Elizabethan stage, or as described by the character-writers or by the classical Burton.⁶ Leontes, Ford, and Kitely⁷ also snatch at proofs, and Posthumus depends on a strange scoundrel's word and the flimsiest of circumstantial evidence. Quite like Othello, Kitely, when first he meets his wife after his jealousy has been aroused, declares that his "head aches extremely on a sudden," whereupon, like Desdemona, she puts her hand to his head to comfort it;⁸ and in his first fit of grief he too cries, "What meant I to marry?"⁹ And Posthumus is another who rages for vengeance, would tear his wife to pieces,¹⁰ endeavors to kill her, and, pure-minded as he is before and after, speaks of her—thinks of her—only as a "cunning" courtesan,¹¹ never considers the possibility of her really loving his rival, and dwells on degrading and bestial thoughts and images.¹² Even by the standard of other plays, then, Othello is jealous, and so he is called throughout the seventeenth century—by Abraham Wright in 1637, as by Sir Charles Sedley in 1693 and George Granville¹³ in 1698; and before the undramatic, untheatrical Coleridge, so far as I am aware, no one ever dreamed of his being anything else.

¹ "Fie, fie, fie! Cuckold! cuckold! cuckold!" *Merry Wives*, II, ii, 327; "Buck! I would I could wash myself of the buck! Buck, buck, buck! Ay, buck, I warrant you, buck, and of the season, too, it shall appear" III, iii, 167f.

² III, ii and iii, *passim*.

³ Webster's *Works* (1897), vol. 1, p. 181, *Maybery's* sixth speech.

⁴ *Cymbeline*, II, iv, 105: "O no, no, no! 'tis true": II, 13, 147-9, *Winter's Tale*, I, ii, 108-111; "Too hot, too hot. But not for joy. not joy" I, 185-90, 233-4, 267-272; 292-95; 299-300. These ejaculations, quite possibly, were then comical.

⁵ "Fetch't, let me see't. Fetch me the handkerchief, my mind misgives . . . The handkerchief! . . . The handkerchief! . . . The handkerchief!" Something of the same incoherent repetition appears in his utterances before he swoons, but in both these instances we cannot be certain that Shakespeare had this specific quality of jealousy at the moment in mind.

⁶ Burton, *Anatomy* (1845), p. 640: "broken pace," "interrupt, precipitate half turns."

⁷ Examples abound, and as Wellbred says, "my very breath hath poison'd him."

⁸ *Every Man in his Humour*, II, i, *Othello*, III, iii, 282-90. The situation is so similar that Shakespeare must have borrowed it.

⁹ *Every Man in his Humour*, II, iii, "Why did I marry?" *Othello*, III, iii, 242.

¹⁰ *Cymbeline*, II, iv, 147; "O, that I had her here, to tear her limb-meal!" *Othello*, III, iii, 431.

¹¹ *Cymb.*, II, iv, 128; and the note below; *Othello*, IV, ii, 89.

¹² *Cymb.*, II, v, 15-19. So II, iv, 133; 142-3.

¹³ *Shakespeare Allusion-Book*, index, sub *Othello*. The references are too numerous to be repeated here.

Still more decisive proof lies in the explicit utterances of the hero and the other characters. On the subject of their own passions Shakespeare's characters are excellently informed. But it is Othello's last words—

one not easily jealous, but, being wrought,
Perplex'd in the extreme—

that we must take, not his rash, classically presumptuous words at the beginning:

Why, why is this?
Think'st thou I'd make a life of jealousy,
To follow still the changes of the moon
With fresh suspicions? ...
... No, Iago;
I'll see before I doubt, when I doubt, prove;
And on the proof, there is no more but this,—
Away at once with love or jealousy.

For presently (if not already), before this same scene is over, both by thought and by deed he gives himself the lie. As for his conception of the nature of his passion, it is that of the jealous Justiniano in *Westward Ho* (1604):

Being certain thou art false, sleep, sleep, my brain,
For doubt was only that which fed my pain;¹

that of the jealous Gomez in Dryden's *Spanish Friar*, who to the remark, "She is employing her thoughts how to cure you of your jealousy," replies, "Yes, by certainty;"² and that of the jealous Mrs. Marwood in Congreve's *Way of the World*:

Oh! if he should ever discover it he would know the worst and be out of his pain, but I would have him ever to continue upon the rack of fear and jealousy.³

And in fact he clamors for proof again and again, more, apparently, because he wishes to ease himself than because he expects to clear his wife;⁴ but when, as he thinks, he gets it, then, certainly, he does away with neither love

¹ Webster, *Works*, i, p. 72.

² *Op. cit.*, IV, i.

³ II, i. To the same effect Fainall, III, iii: "Jealous of her I cannot be, for I am certain of her guilt; so there's an end of jealousy." This, and the trait mentioned in the text above and the note just below—that of insisting on proof as if guilt were the thing desired—are unmistakably the conventional earmarks of jealousy. They both appear in Strindberg's *The Father*, Act II. "Captain. Deliver me from uncertainty, tell me outright that my suspicions are justified, and I will forgive you in advance. Laura. You really can't expect me to take upon myself a sin I have not committed. You seem to hope it is true. Captain. Yes, strangely enough." For the Elizabethans, no doubt, convention and reality were one and the same. For the analytical Swede the reality may have lain only in the notion (probably better founded) that as long as he was uncertain the jealous man would *think* this state more painful than certainty.

⁴ See III, iii, 359-60; 364-7; 390. Cf. my *John Webster*, p. 64.—To be sure, the trait is in the novel of Cintio. "Se non mi fai, disse, vedere, cogli occhi quello, che detto mi hai, viviti sicuro, che ti farò conoscere, che meglio per te sarebbe, che tu fossi nato mutolo." Furness, p. 381.

nor jealousy. The unconscious irony in his words, like that in those of Orosmance,¹ which are conceived, indeed, in imitation of Othello's:—

Moi jaloux! qu'à ce point ma fierté s'avilisse?—

is a touch repeated in Desdemona's opinion that

the sun where he was born
Drew all such humours from him,²

which immediately precedes his entrance frantically to demand the handkerchief. "Is not this man jealous?" asks Emilia after he is gone. Desdemona confesses that she had "ne'er seen this before," and they proceed, with interruptions, to discuss the cause of jealousy whether in him or in other men.³

Finally, there is a significant parallel pointed out by Mr. Harris between Othello and the jealous Posthumus at the moment when they come from under the slanderer's spell:

"As soon as Posthumus is convinced of his mistake he calls Iachimo 'Italian fiend' and himself 'most credulous fool,' 'egregious murderer,' and so forth. He asks for 'some upright justicer' to punish him as he deserves with 'cord or knife or poison,' nay he will have 'tortures ingenious.' He then praises Imogen as the 'temple of virtue,' and again shouts curses at himself and finally calls upon his love:

O Imogen!

My queen, my life, my wife! O Imogen,
Imogen, Imogen!

Othello behaves in exactly the same way; he calls Iago that 'demi-devil,' and himself 'an honourable murderer' . . . Othello, too, cries for punishment; instead of tortures ingenious he will have 'devils' to 'whip' him, and 'roast him in sulphur.' He praises Desdemona as 'chaste' . . . then curses himself lustily and ends his lament with the words: O Desdemon! dead, Desdemon! dead!"⁴

To Mr. Harris this means, again, that it is only the poet that is speaking; to the historical student of the drama it can mean only that here is another point of likeness between Othello and another jealous hero of the poet's own.

● All this does not mean that we deny to Othello's passion that nobler and loftier aspect, first discerned by Coleridge, and best described, perhaps, by Mr. Bradley, who, at the same time, does not fail to recognize the jealousy at the bottom. Our hero grieves at "the wreck of his faith and his love,"⁵ at the ravage and havoc there has been

there where I have garner'd up my heart,
Where either I must live, or bear no life.

But this thought, like Othello's later notion, worthy of a Spaniard—or of an

¹ I v, 301

² Thus, as Pellissier (*Shakespeare*, 1914, pp. 165-6) remarks, shows how little of Schlegel's race psychology (see below, p. 46) was in Shakespeare's mind.

³ III, iv.

⁴ Pp. 291-2

⁵ *Shakespearean Tragedy* (1908), I, 194

Englishman,¹ an Englishman declares,—that the murder is done in a holy cause, and that she must die else she'll betray more men, is not the moving force in the play, is not even, as Mr. Bradley thinks, "the chief or the deepest source of Othello's suffering."² A shock to one's faith or idealism is hardly the thing to make one cry out for "blood," thrice over, or to drive one straight to thoughts of mutilation and murder.● The passage of two lines just quoted—which Mr. Bradley quotes too—immediately follows one about the ignominy of cuckoldom, and immediately leads to another:—

or keep it as a cistern for foul toads
To knot and gender in! Turn thy complexion there,
Patience, thou young and rose-lipped cherubin,
Ay, there, look grim as hell.

And there the idealism is far to seek. "Odd that it does not occur to the husband," as Mr. Shaw says of the hero of a modern play, "that if there is poison taken he is the man to take it."³ Even when, as Desdemona appears, he says, "I'll not believe it," he does not proceed to repent of his suspicions—neither then nor at a later time. His repentance is only for his frightful murderous blunder at the end. It is otherwise with the politer, more modern Orosmane, when reassured:

Est-ce à moi de me plaindre? on m'aime, c'est assez:
Il me faut expier par un peu d'indulgence
De mes transports jaloux l'injurieuse offense.

Othello is, then, jealous—Iago's words, later to be considered,⁴ if no others, would settle that,—but is it possible to take it that in the matter of the "predisposition" Desdemona, Iago, Lodovico, and Othello himself, are wrong? If Othello alone had spoken to this intent, and only at the beginning, that might be; but, in accordance with the old superstition, in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan drama generally, the man (not a villain) who is about to pay the debt to nature, speaks by the card. Not that it is a matter of superstition mainly: it is rather a matter of technique. In general we must believe the last words in the tragedy concerning the characters in question,

¹ See, for instances the Duke's last long soliloquy in Lope's *El Castigo sin Venganza*. He too thinks himself the minister of heaven.—Mr. Harris (p. 289) says the morality is English.

² Bradley, *ibid*.

³ It is idle to insist that Shakespeare had no choice and that Othello's conduct is in keeping with the "unwritten law" of his age. Othello's morals are stage morals, as are the morals of the revenging, soul-killing Hamlet, or of grand opera with its Senecan tradition of revenge to-day. Heywood wrote *The Women Killed by Kindness* about 1603, and even a Spaniard—a Lope de Vega—could in those days write:

Porque la venganza propia
Para castigar las damas
Ajarlas con su gusto.

whether spoken by the hero himself, or by Fortinbras,¹ or by Antony concerning Brutus, remembering that they in some measure take the place of the final choral comment in Greek tragedies or in such Elizabethan ones as *Faustus*. There is no place, to my knowledge, in all Elizabethan tragedy where a hero's final judgment on himself is inexact, still less a judgment ratified by the other principal characters of the play. Besides, the facts are for us: "free and open" Othello is, up to the temptation scene. Not a trace of suspicion, jealousy, or "uneasiness" is to be found in him, any more than in Posthumus before he sees the bracelet in the Italian's hand.

The reason why the predisposition to jealousy is posited by critics such as Gervinus, Wetz, Ulrici, and, indeed, in some form or other, even by many of the orthodox,² is, as we have suggested, that without it he cannot, to our modern minds, remain a character at all. Unity, continuity, we crave at any cost. Wetz, by a sophism, an un-Shakespearean, untheatrical refinement,³ declares him, not already a jealous nature, to be sure, but by temperament and the ticklish circumstances disposed to be that. His trustfulness, strange to say, inclines him to distrust. Admitting that Othello resembles Master Ford in the groundlessness and readiness of his suspicions, Wetz yet finds the main cause of them not in the convention of slander, but in the disparity of rank, color, and years, and in the artificial way in which their love arose. Othello's love was no true passion, as clearly appears from his readiness, unlike Romeo, to sail at once for Cyprus and leave his love behind,⁴ and from his ungallant regrets for his former unhoused, free existence!⁵ The deepest bliss that he feels does not fill his heart, does no more than silence for the moment his tormenting thoughts!⁶ And for all his cheerful response to Brabantio's warning, doubt and fear are already gnawing away within him!⁷ This, if in the unfinical Shakespeare it were anything, would be not only the predisposition but jealousy itself. So, like

¹ Professor W. F. Trench (*Shakespeare's Hamlet* (1913), p. 238-40), thinks that in Fortinbras's remark at the end, to the effect that Hamlet would have made an excellent king, the poet is "poking fun" at us. And he hears "Shakespeare cry Ha, ha!" This is an example of the ingenious but utterly arbitrary and unscientific criticism which is daily given to the world. No dramatist but a Strindberg could think of doing the like today, no dramatist, of whatever name, could have thought of doing it in Shakespeare's time. It is not merely a ~~matter~~ of mirth misplaced (though in tragedy Shakespeare is careful enough to put away the cap and bells long before anguish and death draw nigh) but it is rather a matter of making his judgment on the hero's character clear. No dramatist of any time, no Strindberg or Wedekind, much less the explicit Shakespeare, would have poked fun after a fashion that no audience, unprovided with the critic's key, could possibly understand.

² See, as to Mr. Bradley, below, p. 46.

³ I cannot undertake to indicate the various degrees of predisposition which the German critics discover. Ulrici may, on the whole, be numbered among the orthodox, and yet he finds the "germs" of Othello's later passion already in his breast.

⁴ *Shakespeare vom Standpunkt*, etc. (1890) p. 296.

⁵ P. 297. Cf. I, ii, 25-27.

⁶ P. 296.

⁷ P. 297. Cf., in *Englische Studien* xxxii, p. 296, Wetz again to the same effect.

Gervinus, Wetz finds, not a device of tragic construction, but a deep though dim misgiving, in the hero's foreboding on the quay:

I fear
My soul hath her content so absolute
That not another comfort like to this
Succeeds in unknown fate.

And (not unnaturally) the readiness and promptness with which he takes up with innuendo and slander seems to Wetz, Flathe, and others to indicate that Iago is only ancillary, and that the suspicions all lay slumbering deep in the recesses of the Moor's own brain.¹

● Thus (though by what is after all the only possible way of preserving the character's psychological integrity) Gervinus, Wetz, (in some fashion or other) most of the other Germans, and even Englishmen like Mr. Bradley,² thwart and contradict the intention of the poet, whether as expressed by the hero's own opinion and that of the principal persons of the play, or as found in the rôle itself. Certainly no one but a philosopher, no playwright, no audience, no Elizabethan scholar, even, who is not bent and intent upon making his point, can find in Othello, untempted, traces of "uneasiness" or "anxiety," "tormenting thoughts," misgivings, or "unsatisfied love." The foreboding of his rapture is the regular thing in Elizabethan tragedy, and no more means anxiety as to the permanence of their love than does Juliet's in the garden. All the inwardness of it amounts to no more than the ingrained superstitious notion of men that good things cannot last. But a particle of truth these more logical psychologists—these more illogical critics—really have. Once Iago begins to ply his arts, Othello has now, though not before, if not the predisposition, at least the disposition, the inclination, call it what you will. Even the orthodox, who insist that he is not jealous by temperament, cannot help implying it nevertheless. "He cannot observe and interpret trifles," says Sir Walter Raleigh; "his way has been to thrust them aside and ignore them." Why not, then, these? Why rage for blood when told about a dream and a handkerchief? "He is impatient of all that is subtle and devious, as if it were a dishonour." Why listen to an insinuating slanderer and set on his wife to watch? "He credits others freely with all his own noblest qualities."³ And why not then the wife of his bosom?

In truth, he now is uneasy, anxious, jealous—but he is now a different man. Simply reason and the constitution of our minds demand that so we should take it if Othello is really to be a man at all. *Natura non facit saltum*, or at least the Nature that we know. Iago does his thinking for him,

¹ Wetz, *op. cit.*, p. 304-5; *Englische Studien*, *ibid.*

² See below, p. 46.

³ *Shakespeare*, p. 204. Cf. the similar psychology of Dowden, *Mind and Art* (N. Y. 1901), v, 209, and below, p. 33. At p. 197 the eminent critic first quoted insists—and rightly, of course, if he meant only before the temptation begins—that the Moor is not a jealous man.

Iago puts jealousy upon him, and that our human, hardheaded imaginations cannot conceive or compass, save on the supposition that (though of a sudden) the jealous disposition is already within him, and judgment fled to brutish beasts. In a moment he

whose solid virtue
The shot of accident nor dart of chance
Could neither graze nor pierce,

cries,

By heaven, he echoes me,
As if there were some monster in his thought,

and is "frighted"¹ and "moved"² by a pow-wow of mystery and the bare names of jealousy and cuckoldom. In a moment he is hanging upon the Ancient's lips, his eyes fixed on the baleful mesmeric orbs, on the waving wizard hands, and to every suggestion he responds with little better than a groan or a sob.³ ●

But of suggestion or hypnotism Shakespeare knew not a thing,⁴ nor does he intend to intimate that Othello is in himself now different at all. The dramatist but leans on the convention of slander and "diabolical soliciting"—on the unapparent paradox of the "free and open" nature turning to suspicion, which we presently discuss. These premises given, and by the formula of Elizabethan dramaturgy almost anything may follow. Only, in order to expedite matters, Shakespeare leans hard, and Othello presents little or no resistance to temptation, is eager, excited, is, for all his protestations of faith, won over in a trice. Long ago captious and clumsy Rymer had more than an inkling of this: "a tedious drawing tame Goose, gaping after any paultrey insinuation, labouring to be jealous, and catching at every blown surmize."⁵ And Robert Gould⁶ was there before him:

How cunningly the Villain weaves his sin,
And how the other takes the Poison in.
Et je vois sa raison,
D'une audience avide, avaler ce poison.⁷

¹ III, iii, 120.

² III, iii, 217.

³ Wolff (ii, p. 180) finds that later in the scene when Iago is producing his "proofs" Othello "saugt gierig sie auf;" but at this point says, "Er sträubt sich das gebotene Gift anzunehmen." To me a careful reading of the text seems to show that at once he is on tenterhooks and all agog. See below, pp. 21-22.

⁴ On this very anachronistic suggestion of Lombroso's and Professor Kohler's I have touched in my article "Criminals," etc. (cited above), pp. 74-5.

⁵ *Tragedies of the Last Age* (1692), Part ii, p. 120. For further evidence of the truth of the observation see below, pp. 20-22, 25. One who, even once, cites the opinion of the "worst critic who ever lived" has to be on the defensive, yet he can find refuge enough behind the name and example of critics who are neither tyros nor Zohs—Dryden and Mr. P. F. More (see article in *Nation* quoted below, p. 51). Surely the editor of the *Fædora* was not altogether an ass, as opinion is not condemned simply by the fact that he held it.

⁶ *The Playhouse* (1685), see *Allusion Book*, ii, p. 296.

⁷ *Don Garcie*, II, i.

says the villain who practices upon the peace and quiet of Dom Garcie, who, however, is expressly declared to be, and represented as, jealous by nature and instinct.¹

Et m'en remercier comme d'une victoire
Qui combleroit ses jours de bonheur et de gloire,

he continues; and at this point both villains and victims are respectively alike, as when Othello cries, "I am bound to thee forever," thus thanking his man "for making him egregiously an ass," that it might be fulfilled which had been spoken by Iago the prophet.² Though Shakespeare, then, in his absorption in the immediate situation and his disregard for possible inferences or for mere psychological processes, did not so intend it, Othello, becoming jealous, brutal, sensual, so speedily—not to say eagerly—cannot, for all the tempting he undergoes, but seem to us as wrenched and altered at that moment, or else jealous, brutal, sensual, deep down in his heart before. The latter alternative, we have already learned, a just and faithful interpreter cannot possibly entertain.

Altered, like Posthumus, the only difference being in the fact that to the avowed conviction Othello is brought more gradually (though rapidly), by steps and stages, and not without some few momentary revulsions. Posthumus changes not only at once but as a whole.³ Not jealous by temperament—up to that moment convinced of Imogen's purity—once he lays eyes on the bracelet he is of a sudden horn-mad.⁴ He has a bracelet for a handkerchief, and the word of a stranger for that of an "honest fellow"; but by the board in a moment goes all his former self, every vestige of tenderness for his wife, his dignity, purity, and nobility of soul, and his innate aversion to crime. And until he hears of his wife's death he is a raging, cursing cuckold and speaks the language of the Elizabethan jealous "humour." Like Othello, before the scene is over he is for tearing her limb-meal,⁵ and quite as Othello threatens to kill Iago if he does not "prove his love a whore,"⁶ Posthumus threatens to kill Iachimo if he denies that he has made him a cuckold.⁷ But in the case of Othello the change, being less abrupt, lies rather

¹ See II, i:—"la pente qu'a le prince à de jaloux soupçons."

² II, i, 318.

³ *Pellissier*, pp. 17-18. Leontes is a case somewhat similar. As M. Pellissier observes, there is no evidence that Leontes is testing Hermione and Polixenes as he presses the king to prolong his visit, and his wife to second him in the suit; and yet when she obeys him he bursts at once into a deadly jealousy, though, so far as we are informed, he had never shown the trait before. Like that of Posthumus, moreover (see below, pp. 54-5), his conversion is complete.

⁴ It may be admitted, to be sure, that some few of the speeches preceding betray the fact that he is weakening and merely putting on a brave front; but that would make the change, if less abrupt, little less improbable.

⁵ *Cymbeline*, II, iv., 147.

⁶ Cf., above, p. 12, note, where in the *novella* Othello threatens to cut out the Ancient's tongue.

⁷ *Cymbeline*, II, iv, 145; *Othello*, III, iii, 358-63. So Leontes calls Camillo a liar when Camillo contradicts his opinion concerning Hermione, and "hates" him for it. *W. T.*, I, ii, 300.

in the disposition to lend an ear to slander, and involves the loss of his god-like calm, his dignity and sense of propriety, his judgment and his wits, only in so far as they might interfere with the change. He is not at once jealous or furious, he has not yet lost his tenderness for his wife. It is such a change as in the swift movement of the stage is not so easily noticed, probably was not noticed by the dramatist himself.

So far as disposition, then, is concerned, the more logical psychologists are right, but the disposition is in a different man. Really Coleridge and the orthodox have the best of it—Othello is untainted, and yet is overwhelmed, at his only vulnerable point, his trustfulness, by superhuman art. Whether aware of the change and the new disposition or not, Shakespeare did not intend that Othello was predisposed, or was dull and gullible, or was blinded by passion or fate. But he attempted the impossible—or perhaps he did all that he intended to do, careless of the contradictions into which, almost unavoidably, he fell. At all events, he undertook (as the orthodox, equally careless, maintain) to present a noble, trustful soul who is brought to ruin even by his virtues, but whose faith and trust, when the hour of his trial is come, turn out to be laid only on his base and backbiting officer, not on his dear wife and friend.¹ Thus the virtues by which he ruins and is ruined are strange and dubious ones, and he turns out to be not trustful at all, alas! but credulous and suspicious.

In maintaining their position that the very innocence and nobility of Othello's soul and the consummateness of Iago's fraud made it impossible for him to think that Iago could be deceiving him² (but made it possible that he should think it of Cassio and Desdemona instead) the orthodox seem to be disregarding the very things which above all they prize—ethics and psychology, if logic not so much. A trust in a subordinate which immediately bears fruit in murderous distrust of wife and friend, an inclination to think not good but evil, a love which surrenders to calumny and embraces it, knows no difference between the claims of "honest" acquaintance and those of the dearest one has in the world, and is in utter darkness as to the char-

¹ So, as M. Pellissier (p. 234), remarks, Posthumus trusts Iachimo and Imogen's attendants (who would not, he thinks, have even stolen the bracelet for Iachimo) rather than his wife: "Oui, songez il, c'est très juste," et il redemande sa bague. Mais Iachimo prend les dieux à témoin, et, dès lors, le benêt ne conserve aucun doute. "Les suivantes ont juré fidélité et sont honorables; elles, les corrompre! et un étranger! Non, il l'a possédée." Ainsi donc, Posthumus se fie plus aux femmes d'Imogène qu'à Imogène elle-même. Rendant la bague," etc.

² Bradley (p. 192) says that Othello does think of it and suspects him (cf. the question below, p. 24, wherein he seems, ironically, to be given a glimpse of the truth). But how momentary, ineffective, and negligible that suspicion is, appears from the fact that the sum and substance of his psychology (pp. 189, 191), like that of most English critics (cf. above, p. 4), as well as of Germans such as Vischer and Wolff, is that our hero falls because of his trustfulness, is incapable of distrusting anybody (save his wife), the play being *ebensogut die Tragödie des Vertrauens als der Eifersucht* (Wolff, II, 164). Really Othello never suspects Iago, thinks only for an instant of the possibility of his 'slandering her,' and does not trust his wife even when he says "I'll not believe it," but feels his aching forehead.

acter of either,—what virtues, what trust and love, are these?¹ Even “stupidity” (a suggestion which despoils the hero of his tragic dignity and state) will not save the character of one who knows not right from wrong, a devil from an angel of light.

Avez-vous de son coeur si peu de connaissance?
Discernez-vous si mal le crime et l'innocence?

cries Racine's Aricie, much to the point, to her lover's father, though not, of course, before the curse has been uttered and heard. So in rounder, less delicate terms Emilia reproaches the Moor, and the Moor reproaches himself, though not one instant before the worst comes to the worst and the lady herself lies dead. But the critics undertake psychologically to explain and defend what happens (luckily unexplained and undefended) only in old plays or old stories—that, like Theseus, Potiphar, or Prætus, a man should believe, in the hour of destiny, what slanders he is told. The *other* old plays and stories, indeed, are less improbable; for Potiphar or Prætus trusts his wife rather than his son, whereas Othello, giving only the stranger a hearing, trusts the stranger rather than both wife and friend.

On the strength of the convention, to be sure—that arbitrary but traditional fundamental premise—Iago is quite equal to carrying it off; but on the plain basis of human nature, or of psychology, the feints and insinuations of “that demi-devil” or the devil himself (for at bottom the convention or superstition is nearly the same) would have been wasted, had Othello not been Iago's already and been delivered into his hands. He harkens unto Iago, Iago's counsel seems good in his eyes. Yet, if we know ourselves, the entrenchments of character and personality are not all so lightly leaped over, and the simplest body could long have baffled a more cunning fiend.² If Iago's treachery was unthinkable, “unimaginable,”³ Othello might at least have thought—by the Ancient himself it is suggested—that his prying, jealous disposition had been mistaken. Or he might simply have said to him, putting an end to the tragedy in Act Three, “Sir, this is my wife!” and he

et d'autres, sur ce gage,
Auroient du monde entier bravé le témoignage.

¹ How thoroughly it is all a matter of convention and situation-making (not, as I shall no doubt be bidden to remember, of Elizabethan character) appears clearly enough when the Friar (*Much Ado*, IV, i, 160-72) defends Hero against her father simply on the strength of his perception of her purity; or when Heywood, in *The Woman Killed by Kindness*, lets the free and open Frankford say, though he has just heard a true story and a far truer-seeming one than Othello:

Shall I trust

The bare report of this suspicious groom,
Before the double-gilt, the well-hatch'd ore
Of their two hearts? No, I will lose these thoughts, etc.

That is the way, Shakespeare (as well as Heywood) knows perfectly well, a really loyal, unsuspecting friend and husband would take it, if only he were in the flesh, not in a play.

² See below, pp. 33, 38.

³ See below, p. 33.

It is only upon the presumption, then, that Othello is not a personality, not a psychological entity—unless, indeed, a sadly gullible, jealous one—but a *tabula rasa*, or, changing the figure, clay in the potter's hands, that Iago's arts may prosper and prevail. But these, though extraordinary, are as Wetz, Mr. Brooke, M. Pellissier, and others have shown, far from superhuman, are by no means without defect. Particularly is this the case in the first two hundred and fifty lines of the temptation scene, where the villain produces even no such "proof" as (after Othello's return) the dream or the handkerchief, but merely raises a cloud of suspicion about Desdemona and Cassio as he "steals" away. As Flathe and Wetz observe, why should he not steal away, being degraded and disgraced? His friend Othello—he might be "stupid" and still do it—should think of this at once, and should suspect—he might be generous and still do it—the generosity of Iago. And Desdemona's prompt and frank petition on his behalf ought of itself to make clear for what he had come. How questionable, moreover, are the aspersions now cast upon Othello's dearest friend's honor and the part he bore in Othello's courtship, proceeding out of the mouth of the man who had just supplanted him in the lieutenantcy—whose testimony had been the cause of his supplanting!¹ Then on the heels of that come the echoes, "shrugs," feints, and dodges, the charges which he makes and unmakes, the hints and secrets which he whisks under his general's nose and sticks in his pocket, the sibylline allusions to cuckoldom and admonitions against jealous rage. Wonderfully clever in itself it all is, and much better handled than in Dolce's *Marianna*, whence it was taken,² but from the merely human, the "psychological," standpoint how utterly misplaced! Again is implied (as unhappily is the case) that Othello had already signed his soul away. For to a man in his senses, let alone a famous general and viceroy, nothing could appear more presumptuous or impertinent. Who has constituted Iago, from the very outset, guardian of Othello's mind and keeper of his conscience? Nor could any conduct seem more unbefitting for a really "honest" friend. He is continually trying to cover up his tracks, he is every moment ready to retreat. An honest man who undertakes to tell you that your wife and your dearest friend have played you false makes a clean breast of it, I suppose, without flourish or ado. He does not twist and turn, tease and tantalize, furtively cast forth the slime of slander and ostentatiously lick it up again. Nor when you ask him what he is driving at does he purse his lips, pat you on the

¹ In *Marianna* (Act II) Herod is reasonable enough himself to raise the question of a conspiracy and to bethink him of Salome's hatred as the efficient cause of the Cup-bearer's maligning the queen. That Othello does not think of Iago's grudge would mean either that he is jealous by nature or is a blockhead—if we forgot that for him to think of it would thwart the poet's purpose.

² Cf. Ward, ii, p. 169, Klein, v, p. 385. The same method, in little, is used by Sbrigani in Voltaire's *Pourceaugnac*, II, iv, and Shakespeare may have got it from a French or an Italian source, translated or untranslated. Dolce's *Giocasta* had long been known in an English dress. Ford's *IVanolo*, in *Love's Sacrifice*, for the moment another Iago, is done in imitation of Shakespeare's.

shoulder, and say: It were not for your quiet nor your good. Never mind me: I am an uncleanly prying devil! Good name is to be kept at all hazards, and jealousy is the green-eyed monster which doth mock the meat on which it feeds. Good heaven, the souls of all my tribe defend from jealousy! At best a tale-bearer's business is but a questionable one, but it is all the more questionable and suspicious when he has nothing of a tale to tell.¹

And instead of following him with bated breath and all agape with fear or crying, "By Heaven, he echoes me"—"Ha!"—"O misery!" a man not quite out of his senses might well have taken our Ancient, as La Bruyère thinks his dupes ought to have taken Tartuffe, simply for the double-dealing viper that he is. Rather, he should have struck him, as at Aleppo once he did the turban'd Turk. Can he better brook the "traducing" of his wife and friend than of Venice?² Indeed, the nearest Iago at this first session approaches to proof is but to insult his general beyond all bounds. "She did deceive her father," or, as we innocently say, eloped, and not with one "of her own clime, complexion, and degree," but—

Foh! one may smell in such a will most rank,
Foul disproportions, thoughts unnatural—

with a Moor! The most pigeon-livered, chicken-hearted creature in the world, we must think, would not have put up with the like of this; and it is doing Shakespeare and his Iago little honor to maintain either that arts such as these are "superhuman," or that the Othello of the Council-chamber has not now vanished from our view.

Not that time and again Iago does not play the honest man in nearly all his honesty, as in the speech:

Touch me not so near.
I had rather have this tongue cut from my mouth
Than it should do offense to Michael Cassio;

.
But men are men; the best sometimes forget, etc.

¹ A friend and colleague suggests that I underestimate the power of calumny, and he reminds me of Bazile's words on the subject in the *Barbier de Séville* (II, viii). But this is the gossip which floats about and infects the air, and crushes the victim without ever reaching her ears, perhaps, or theirs who love her. A very different thing is this personal slander—without a pretence to evidence or the dear friend's privilege to speak—which, however indirect and clever it be, is, save to a pasha or a Bluebeard, in itself an affront, a violation of the precincts of personality, an alarm to suspicions farthest from its thought to arouse. Besides, as I have shown, this convention of believing the things that you are told works equally well when a character like Malcolm or Dekker's Infelice defames himself; or when, as I show below, p. 26, the process reversed, the calumniator, so implicitly credited, is discredited again by the testimony of a witness whom, before, the hero could not hear, as one corrupted and prejudiced, but who now may be supposed to be more prejudiced than ever. (To be sure, Emilia may be supposed by Othello to have no reason falsely to accuse her husband, but the wife of Iago could have had no reason but the best for contradicting the slanderous report when Othello first repeats it to her, or for cursing the wretch who put the notion into Othello's head. Why had Iago kept his suspicions from Emilia? And why does not Othello see to it that his two contradictory witnesses are in his presence brought face to face?)

² V, ii, 351-4:—"beat a Venetian and traduced the State," etc.

But in the scene of which we have been speaking Shakespeare, in his neglect of plausibility, would have us labor, with Othello, under the delusion that the manners of honesty and dishonesty are almost one and the same:¹

these stops of thine fright me the more;
For such things in a false disloyal knave
Are tricks of custom; but in a man that's just
They're close delations, working from the heart
That passion cannot rule;—

a delusion under which he would have us labor *without* Othello when Desdemona's innocence and purity is made to appear, not in its native dauntlessness, but in the guise of timorous and senseless double-dealing.² "Utterly trustful," "simple as a saint," says Sir Walter Raleigh (who seems unwilling to defeat the poet's expectations), regardless of the way she lies about the handkerchief and dodges further question, cries "betrayed," "undone," and like a guilty thing weeps and pleads for life! Still, Voltaire and Schiller, it must not be forgotten, expected of us in this kind almost as much.

The unplausibleness of all this manoeuvring of Iago's is abated only as we fall back upon the convention and fundamental premise. Psychologically, Iago's toils are, now or afterward, not at all so ineluctable as Coleridge, Schlegel, Ulrici, Hudson, and the rest of the orthodox think; and possibly Shakespeare himself would have been as much surprised as we at their taking it that any man in Othello's position would have been like him enmeshed.³ What Othello calls proof (but Iago himself "trifles light as air") comes later; and all that Iago is now doing is, without proof or evidence, as it were by a spell or mesmeric manipulation, to get the man under control, to make the man his own. Othello is changed and jealous, we have seen, at the moment of temptation; but—according to the orthodox criticism as a psychological fact, according to Shakespeare himself, I think, as but a fact in the story—it is Iago himself that changes him. The readiness with which he yields to the process must simply be granted the poet. As we have traced this, it consists in injecting the "medicine," the "poison," as Iago calls it, and then letting it "work," and turn into "proof" evidence however trivial.

I will in Cassio's lodging lose this napkin,
he says in the moments when Othello is off the stage,

¹ See above, p. 6, note 3.

² It has been urged that innocent women and children have recourse to deceit from fear. But Desdemona was brave enough, and trustful enough, in running away with the noble black man and in pleading her friend Cassio's suit; and even a timid innocence does not look altogether like guilt. Our discussion of a similar situation in other dramatists above (pp. 68) shows how for the situation's sake they have tampered with the integrity of the character.

³ Cf. Furness, pp. 432, 434, for the two German critics. Cf. Ulrici cited in Wetz, pp. 375-6, and below, p. 49.

And let him find it. Trifles light as air
 Are to the jealous confirmations strong
 As proofs of holy writ: this may do something.
 The Moor already changes with my poison.
 III, iii, 321f.

So later he says:

And his unbookish jealousy must construe
 Poor Cassio's smiles, gestures, and light behaviours
 Quite in the wrong.
 IV, i, 103

At bottom is the notion, expressed in the play repeatedly and in all Elizabethan literature as well, that, as Emilia says, jealous souls

are not ever jealous for the cause
 But jealous for they're jealous. It is a monster
 Begot upon itself, born on itself.
 III, iv, 159f.

But Iago's own words make his method clear—to "put the Moor into a jealousy so strong that judgment cannot cure," and then, merely suggesting, never convincing, let passion run its course. And this he does as if the Moor were an hypnotic subject or a brainless beast, by repeating the words "good name," "jealousy," and "cuckold," almost as if he were crying "sick 'im" to a dog. No man not jealous by nature was ever thus put into a jealousy without process of proof or show of reason; no man's soul ever thus lay in the hollow of another's hand.

The passage quoted above—"These stops of thine fright me the more"—is one of those which might favor a theory of *tragische Verblendung*, though I do not know that it has been used. Now, perhaps, and afterward—"if thou dost slander her and torture me, never pray more"—the hero is, ironically, given a glimpse of the truth that he cannot really see. This is a characteristically Shakespearean device, as is its counterpart, Othello's outcry "Who can control his fate?" at the end. But what the Germans say, is, that the action of Fate is the pervading idea, and the cause of Othello's downfall. "The hero were a fool, if he had to do only with an Iago," says Professor Brandl, "and behind Iago stands a perverted world-order, which he serves."¹ And thereby the critic betrays, on the one hand, a fitting discontent with the story of the slanderer believed as an image of life (though failing to recognize its impermanent warrant in convention), and, on the other hand, the philosophical bias (soon to be noticed) which turns coincidences and lack of motivation in a play into an intentional representation of what happens in the world.

The commoner German interpretation, as that of Wetz² and Vischer, is

¹ *Shakespeare*, pp. 161-2.

² P. 301.

that the Moor is blinded by his passions. And so flimsy is Iago's evidence, so considerable should be Othello's prejudice against it when produced, that, if everything in a play must be reduced to terms of character, for some theory or other of blindness there is, in all conscience, justification enough. He takes up at once, we have seen, with Iago's insinuations, resenting none of his impertinence, remembering nothing of Cassio's friendship and Desdemona's purity and love. For a time Iago simply plays with the Moor's imagination, as he touches upon jealousy and cuckoldom, the falseness of Venetian women, his wife's deception of her father,¹ and the unequal and unnatural union, flaunting these inflammatory images before his eyes as the bull-fighter does his cloak. And when he comes to proof—still he flaunts infuriating images by the way, as the vision of Desdemona in Cassio's embraces, Cassio's movements in his dream, and his use of the precious handkerchief to wipe his beard. Proof and this tale of a dream and a handkerchief have nothing in the world in common, and yet all Othello can do is to cry, not fiddlededee! but "monstrous, monstrous!"—"O that the slave had forty thousand lives," and swear to heaven his revenge. In the next scene and the first of Act IV it would appear that to Desdemona and Othello, as to the finical Ulrici, the loss of a lady's handkerchief is almost tantamount to the loss of her good name, though nothing is easier to lose or steal unless it be a hairpin or an umbrella. Desdemona deplores the loss of her "napkin" before Othello enters, and acknowledges that it were enough to put him to ill-thinking;² and after he enters, though he is already convinced of her adultery, he himself has nothing to ask but that he may set eyes on it, and he will talk of nothing else.

In Act IV Iago resumes his play on the imagination, ironically calling up visions of kissing, being naked in bed together, and things more bestial still, before his ensanguined eyes. Then comes the swoon, and then the over-hearing of Cassio. By this time, to be sure, the maddened mind of the Moor

¹ "And so she did," replies Othello; and much has been made of this as well as of Brabantio's final warning. Shakespeare might have made much more of it himself, for Othello never recalls the warning, never reverts to these words of Iago's. But whatever he made of it, one cannot, with Ulrici, speak of Iago's as an *Argument von grosser Probabilität*. Does a man distrust the woman who elopes with him, or would he entertain such a thought when suggested by a friend? The only importance it can have lies in the effect of it upon a mind naturally suspicious, already alarmed and aroused.

² This anticipation is designed, no doubt, both to arouse suspense and to lend plausibility to an unplausible situation. Throughout the play the handkerchief roughly corresponds to Seneca's and Racine's device of the sword of Hippolytus, which Phædra, or her Nurse, like Potiphar's wife with Joseph's garment in her hand, uses as circumstantial evidence. The abandoned garment or sword certainly shows that something desperate has happened, but the handkerchief shows nothing at all.

A friend of mine urges, with the commentators, that it was no ordinary handkerchief; but we do not discover that, nor does Desdemona, till Othello tells of its magical qualities after it has been lost (III, iv, 55-68). This, it would seem, is a tale made up for the occasion to scare the poor lady into betraying her guilt. In no way does it make more plausible Othello's thinking her guilty simply because of the fact that Cassio holds in his hand a thing of hers so easily lost, the value of which she had not known.

is quite ready to be imposed upon, but still the grossness of the imposition is almost beyond belief. If the possession of a lady's handkerchief is proof of adultery with her, how preposterous that Cassio, now pleading for his favor, should be wiping his beard with it in public or unconcernedly producing it before Iago or his drab! And only less preposterous is Othello's mistaking of Cassio's report of the "customer" Bianca's haunting him and publicly falling him about the neck, for a report concerning the daughter of the Magnifico, gentle Desdemona.¹ Throughout his jealousy, however, like Posthumus, as we have seen, Leontes, and all other jealous Elizabethan heroes, noble though they be, he never considers the possibility of her falling in love with the man, or the possibility of Cassio's surpassing him in personal charm or in wit, but takes her only for a "cunning" and "delicate" courtesan, without a heart, without the right to love and choose.

All this, I say, together with the arbitrary hardening of Othello's heart against Emilia's testimony, like Herod's in Dolce's play against that of Cup-bearer or Councillor, Wetz, Flathe, and others call the blinding of passion; Dr. Brandes,² Mr. Stopford Brooke, and others, stupidity; Professors Brandl and Bradley,³ as we have seen, the influence of fate and a perverted world. One and all, however, they marvel, not at Othello's belief, but only at Iago's ineluctable toils. But this conviction, forced upon him—"such a conviction as any man would and must have entertained"—is put off almost as lightly as it was put on. Now that on the stage (though not at all in the mind of Othello) the time is ripe and fully come, Emilia's assertion that often Iago had begged her to steal the handkerchief has weight which was wanting to all her previous solemn protestations of Desdemona's innocence, and he runs at the miscreant with drawn sword. In a trice she is cleared,⁴ as in a trice she was incriminated, and by Iago's stealing the handkerchief as by Cassio's once having it in his hand. It is a poor rule that works only one way, disbelief ought to be as easy as belief⁵—but if ever psychology did not matter it is here. In the last analysis, the slanderer was believed that there might be a story, and the slanderer is now repudiated that the story may end.⁶

"Blindness," stupidity," inevitable "conviction"—mere convention is all

¹ This point and that in the preceding sentence are made by Wetz. There is the further unplausibility, noted by others, in Iago's suspicious demeanor—speaking low one moment and loud the next. But that is a convention which must be granted as generously as the aside. As a matter of mere fact, to be sure, the actor Othello hears all the audience hears.

² *Shakespeare* (1909), p. 443.

³ See also below, p. 27.

⁴ See V, ii, 220-235.

⁵ As a matter of fact it is generally more difficult, and that Shakespeare should make the process so much quicker and easier, in Leontes and Posthumus as well as Othello, shows either how little he knew of the psychology of the matter or how little he regarded it.

⁶ my article "Criminals," p. 75.

that I can make of it, or else what Bulthaupt¹ makes of it, unprobability, improbability in the arrangement of the play. There is not a tragedy of intrigue and slander in the world without similar defects, and the hero is not "blinded" but sees only what for the purposes of a tragic plot the poet vouchsafes him to see. A pretty trick of the apologist it is to turn all these inconsequences in the action into traits of the hero as a man! Masterpieces, at that rate, would be thick as blackberries and every scribbler no less than a "bard." At bottom it is the same confusion of art and life as in Mr. Brooke's and Professor Bradley's and others' transformation into Fate or Chance of all the coincidences which fill up for Iago the gaps in his intrigue. To these we now for a few moments turn.

"Again and again," says Mr. Bradley of Iago, "a chance word from Desdemona, a chance meeting of Othello and Cassio, a question which starts to our lips and which anyone but Othello would have asked, would have destroyed his life. In their stead Desdemona drops her handkerchief at the moment most favorable to him,² Cassio blunders into the presence of Othello only to find him in a swoon, Bianca arrives precisely when she is wanted to complete Othello's deception and increase his anger into fury." Besides those improbabilities enumerated by Mr. Brooke below, Mr. Bradley might also have mentioned: Othello's patiently waiting, for all his fury, instead of bursting out on Cassio then and there;³ Iago's trusting the key to his character, his plans, and his fate, to a tool-villain so "loose of soul" as Roderigo,⁴ who is just the man to peach; his begging Emilia, on an earlier occasion, to steal the handkerchief and his now snatching it from her, though all that she says about it later she might equally well have said in time; and his contriving the quarrel with Cassio before he knows that Cassio will look to the guard,⁵ apparently, indeed, without knowledge of his "poor and unhappy brains for drinking"⁶ and his quarrelsomeness when drunk. As for the handkerchief, in a footnote Mr. Bradley adds: "And neither she nor

¹ Frequently he too speaks of the stupidity of the characters, as on pp. 710-12, and when he declares that if the other characters had had a grain of his wit Iago could not have succeeded in his plans. But at these moments he seems to be using the language of men rather than of critics, for at other times he dwells on the lack of motivation and the intrusion of coincidence.

² This element of chance is less prominent, as has been observed, in the novel of *Cymbeline*. There Iago deliberately steals it.

³ Noticed by Bulthaupt, pp. 221-2. Salvini (Furness, p. 237), who omitted this portion of the scene as much as IV, i, 50-194, says, "should you not suppose that he would spring like a tiger on Cassio and tear him to pieces?" And such opinion far outweighs that of Weir, p. 340, who opposes it. It is highly unprobable that Othello should have been so easily imposed upon, but being so imposed upon he would not have been held in leash merely by Iago's general injunction to be "patient." If he had been patient and reasonable enough for that, he might have been patient and reasonable enough to consider and question the evidence—patient and reasonable enough to come forth from covert, confront Cassio, and hear what he has to say.

⁴ This is an established Elizabethan convention, of course, which provided opportunity for comic diabolical confabulations between rogue and rogue.

⁵ II, iii, 1. Cf. II, i, 270 ff.

⁶ II, iii, 40.

Othello observes what handkerchief it is. Else she would have remembered how she came to lose it, and would have told Othello: and Othello, too, would at once have detected Iago's lie that he had seen Cassio wipe his beard with the handkerchief 'today.' For in fact the handkerchief had been lost not an hour before Iago told that lie (line 288 of the same scene) and it was at that moment in his pocket. He lied therefore most rashly, but with his usual luck."

Luck! One would think the stage were Cyprus itself, and Iago not a bundle of words in verse and prose but flesh, blood, and bone. By the standards of art, by the limitations or opportunities with which he was confronted, our dramatist must be judged like any other mortal artist, and not be given a patent to offend. But by dint of mere assertion Mr. Brooke, Mr. Bradley and others turn all these defects into virtues, as if he were not so much an artist as the supreme Artificer, and whatever is were right or so must be. "All this and much more seems to us quite natural," continues Mr. Bradley after the recital of the instances of Iago's "good fortune," quoted above, "so potent is the art of the dramatist: but it confounds us with a feeling such as we experience in the *Ædipus Tyrannus*, that for those star-crossed mortals—both *dusdaimones*—there is no escape from fate,¹ and even with a feeling, absent from that play, that fate has taken sides with villainy."²

This is evidently something such as Professor Brandl means, but as long as this method prevails with it Shakespeare criticism will remain a contradiction in terms. Justly enough, Mr. Brooke dwells upon the "blind unreasonable chance" and improbability in Othello's, Emilia's, and everybody else's ignorance of the monster's character, in a wise and cautious general's so stupidly succumbing to him, in his failure to feel Desdemona's innocence intuitively, to make inquiry concerning the handkerchief, or to discredit the notion that Cassio would give away the token to his drab.³ But all this "shocking unreasonableness," shows, he says, "the power of baleful Chance in the world, not chance in [the poet's] work. . . . He combined all the improbabilities with so creative and formative an imagination that the whole play seems eminently probable. We are hurried on so fast from the first suspicion of Othello to his death that we have no time to ask questions, to doubt or debate anything."⁴

Quite the same may be said of many a melodrama that gets short shrift from the critics today, and would get shorter from Mr. Brooke, I judge. But what double-tongued, damning praise! He combined and hurried over all the improbabilities! These are defects, then, these bits of

¹ As to Fate in Shakespeare, see below, pp. 30-31.

² P. 182. See below, p. 29, and p. 30, for examples of the same thing taken from Swinburne and Loening.

³ *Ten More Plays of Shakespeare*, pp. 171 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

philosophy, glimpses into a "distracted world-order," revelations of a "belief in chance as at the root of the universe," which make the mood of the drama as a whole—and these it is a merit in the poet, after damaging the play by introducing them, to hurry over and conceal! Certainly Mr. Brooke confuses "chance in the world" and "chance in his work" if Shakespeare does not, though with each other the things have nothing to do. It is but the familiar, traditional error of the craft.¹ In a play which shows Chance at the root of the Universe motivation is surely as needful as in a play which shows Necessity. The play must not be a chaos if the world is; the fortuitous must be represented with an art wherein there is nothing fortuitous; and sensible people must not fail, if need be, to remember their handkerchiefs, to use their wits, and to pick up some little knowledge of one another. The want of this in the play indicates, if anything, not Chance in the universe, but an over-ruling Providence in the poet! *Il réussit, dira-t-on*, says of Iago a French critic, free of our pre-possessions, yet admired, to my surprise, by so thorough-going a Shakespearean as Dr. Furness;²—*il réussit, ainsi le veut l'auteur*. The dice of Zeus fall ever luckily. And what had then De Broglie to say of the flaws which are merits? "Such are the depth and variety of the first conception that the most striking improbabilities, the most inconceivable absurdities, pass unobserved, because no one has leisure to look to the motives of the action; but to make these absurdities out to be merits is quite another matter." At the theatre we pass them over only because of *other* merits, which abound.³ And what we have

¹ Cf. Swinburne's article on Webster (cited p. 31, below), justly criticized by Mr. Archer. "The fifth act of the *Duchess of Malfi* has been assailed on the very ground which it should have been evident to a thoughtful and capable reader that the writer must have intended to take up—on the ground that the whole upshot of the story is dominated by sheer chance, arranged by mere error, and guided by pure accident" (p. 879). The amazing implication is that in order to represent caprice in Fate or Providence the poet may be capricious himself.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 452—Cf. the remarks of Balthaupt, ii, p. 210 ff. "Aber ein trügerischer Boden, eine halbe, lückenhafte, und gerade an den wichtigsten Stellen völlig aussetzende Motivierung, und die Spekulation auf jene Macht mit der bekanntlich auch die Götter vergebens kämpfen, die aber immer als tragischer Hebel bedenklich ist und bleibt." By the side of such a judgment, from a scholar who knows the drama, ancient and modern, through and through, how trivial, unenlightened appear the criticisms of most of our literary critics! Not that the Germans are our only light. Both Bradley and Brooke have recognized the lack of motivation, though they justify it. Wolff, on the other hand, goes so far as to say (II, 185): "Mit zwingender Nothwendigkeit entwickelt die Handlung sich aus den drei leitenden Charakteren." And Volkelt, *Ästhetik des Tragischen* (1897), p. 153, to the same unhappy effect.

³ "In the third Act we have peripety handled with consummate theatrical skill. To me—I confess it with bated breath—the craftsmanship seems greatly superior to the psychology. Othello, when we look into it, succumbs with incredible facility to Iago's poisoned pinpricks; but no audience dreams of looking into it; and there lies the proof of Shakespeare's technical mastery." Even Mr. Archer (*Playmaking*, p. 202) here seems to lend support to heresy and superstition. But we observe that he says "audience," and is thinking of Shakespeare's undoubted success in attaining his temporary end. (See below, p. 57). Still he comes to what is, as I think, but an illogical conclusion, and technical mastery would be proved only by Othello's succumbing *credibly*. Surely Mr. Archer would himself agree with me that we have had enough of this sort of criticism (though it is not the worst we have had), which points out a score of flaws, improbabilities, conventionalities—and then, behold, the miracle! and there are no flaws at all!

said of Chance applies equally to Professor Brandl's and Professor Bradley's Fate. The words are different, but in critical phrase—written with capital letters—the notions are hardly so. Fate or Fortune, how many critical crimes have been committed in thy name! For the Shakespearean the word is ever at hand to stop the caviller's mouth, if not to stifle his own critical scruples.

The Shakespearean's Fate is robbed of much of its tragic gravity, however, when we see how readily it puts in an appearance to help the poet out. Things fine and precious are difficult, and how much more difficult it would have been to furnish Iago with evidence more credible, and an intrigue independent of Chance, fit to inveigle an Othello who trusts his wife and friend as well as his officer, and has not discontinued the use of his wits!¹ Why have an Othello that only by a *deus ex machina* can escape being called a fool, even by the poet's worshippers? It is a device that the poet himself would have been first and foremost to disdain. In this play the references to Fate are only² two, and, as in most of the poet's plays, such references are momentary and casual. In no play, perhaps, is Fate by him presented as the active agent, but curse and prophecy alike are fulfilled, through human motives, by the free and willing act of man, though often recognized as a miraculous fulfillment afterward.³ Brabantio's final warning,⁴ Othello's foreboding on the quay, and his outcry "Who can control his fate?" in the bedchamber, are hardly more than bits of constructive and rhetorical furniture, imitated, indirectly, from the classics, and designed to focus interest and lend tragic state and emphasis. Utterances of the moment,⁵ they do not strike to the centre; but even if they did, it is the poet's own art and effort, not his artlessness, that must make Fate's hand appear. The nearest he comes to that is at moments such as when he lets Romeo and Macbeth defy the destiny which overtakes them; and he has nothing at all like Eteocles or Cassandra driven to their doom, Grillparzer's Jaromir fascinated by the dagger, or Ædipus fleeing from his fate, fulfilling it, and blindly seeking to know it when fulfilled. However Senecan the sentiments his heroes occasionally utter, the heroes themselves are in action free and responsible,

¹ Even by many of the respectable and learned it is simply used to explain away difficulties, often of their own creation. Professor Loening, in his *Hamlet*, p. 394 f., thinking that the hero resists the mandate to the last, has him, by a dispensation of Fate, avenge his father in spite of himself. And then he holds it up as a marvel and mystery of Art. "Es ist als ob der Dichter mit diesem Plane der Vorsehung das Geheimnis ihrer wunderbaren Wege abgelauscht, als ob er das Unerforschliche erforscht, das Unbegreifliche begriffen hat." One wonders that it is still possible for a great scholar to speak in such a vein, in this age of reason.

² See Bartlett, *sub voce*; especially II, i, 195; V, ii, 265. In the other three the word seems to be used in the more prosaic, concrete sense.

³ Cf. what are in this respect the most classical of his plays, *Richard III* and *Macbeth*.

⁴ Gervinus takes it for a curse. See below, p. 44.

⁵ Cf. Hamlet's words about fate before the duel, and Gloucester's and Kent's in *King Lear*. In such "pious ejaculations," however, the villain has no part or lot. Cf. my article *Criminals*, p. 76.

like all other characters in the Renaissance and in large measure Seneca's own.¹ But the point is that we have no more right to call in Fate to cover up this dramatist's workmanship than we have to do that for a dramatist of today. *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* is a tragedy, and in common parlance, and quite as truly as at any moment in *Othello*, we should say that there is "irony of Fate" at the moment when Paula, at last about to escape from the shadow of her old life, win her stepdaughter Ellean's love, and be happy, finds that Ellean is in love with a young fellow with whom she had once lived herself. Why then does not a critic arise to call in Fate to obliterate the blemish of this coincidence? And why should such a critic get laughed at—and never the Shakespearean—seeing that comparatively it is but a little thing that is asked of Fate?

To return now to the notion of blinding passion, by it the Germans endeavor to do in the field of internal motivation what Professor Bradley, with his "luck" and "Fate," and Mr. Brooke, with his "Chance," endeavor to do in the external. They justify the ways of the Bard to men. Quite apart from the error of a critical method which proceeds on the assumption that the art of Shakespeare is different from the art of any other,² there is here the error of presuming a state of anxiety within Othello's bosom from the beginning, and the still greater error of having him blinded by passion at the moment when first Iago opens his tempter's lips. It is easy enough, we have seen, to believe that by passion Othello is blinded to the gross improbabilities of the imposition Iago puts upon him in the conversation between himself and Cassio; but how at the outset does he come to forget the love of Desdemona, the life-long friendship of Cassio, his good and sufficient reason for stealing away as appears from Desdemona's frank petition for him, and at once succumb, though in unutterable anguish, to the shrugs, suggestions, and glittering eye of Cassio's dispossession?

If Wetz does not undertake to explain it, another³ does, though one of the orthodox, on the whole, who see the passion springing up only at Iago's word.

¹ Professor Cunliffe's *Influence of Seneca*, p. 31. Concerning Shakespeare and Webster in this connection, however, he quotes (p. 27), from an article of Swinburne's (*Nineteenth Century*, June, 1886, p. 868): "With Shakespeare—and assuredly not with Æschylus—righteousness itself seems subject and subordinate to the masterdom of fate." Certainly that is all contrary to fact, and Swinburne, with Mr. Cunliffe's approval, makes, as I cannot but think, the error of confounding the predestinating hand of Fate with that of the poet, and Chance, with a mere dramatist's accident or coincidence (cf. especially *ibid.*, p. 879). In Æschylus, "nemeses," "the god," and "the daimon" so interfere that we can make little of the responsibility of Clytemnestra, Agamemnon, or Orestes, but Macbeth had thought of the deed before, at the "supernatural soliciting" he leaps to meet his fate, and he has no god to blame. It is of course impossible here to discuss this topic adequately—it requires an article or a book in itself. For Shakespeare as the poet of free will see B. Siburg, *Schicksal und Willensfreiheit* (1906); Heine on Macbeth in *Mädchen und Frauen* (*Werke*, Elster ed. Leipzig, v, p. 436), my article on "Criminals," p. 76.

² See above, p. 28, and my article "*Falstaff*."

³ Mr. Edward Rose, *New Shakespeare Society Trans.*, 1880-2, p. 1; quoted by Dr. Furness, p. 428 f., with high approval.

"Othello has a strong and healthy mind and a vivid imagination, but they deal entirely with first impressions, with obvious facts. If he trusts a man he trusts him without the faintest shadow of reserve.¹ Iago's suggestion that Desdemona is false comes upon him like a thunderbolt. He knows the man to be honest, his every word the absolute truth.² He is stunned, and his mind accepts specious reasonings, passively and without examination. Yet his love is so intense that he struggles against his own nature and for a time compels himself to think, though not upon the great question whether she is false. He cannot bring his intellect to attack Iago's conclusion and only argues the minor point: Why is she false? But even this effort is too much for him. It is, I have said, against Nature; and Nature, after the struggle has been carried on unceasingly for hours, revenges herself—he falls into a fit. The soliloquy at the end of Othello's first scene with Iago may appear to make rather against my theory: it does not merely repeat one thought, it goes from point to point. The contradiction is only apparent. He is trying to force his mind and it flutters helplessly from one minor point to another; moreover, jealousy is a mean and worrying passion attaching itself to details, not grand and broad like the greatest love, hate or ambition. . . . My theory by the way may help to account for what has always troubled critics—the extraordinary quickness with which Othello's faith in Desdemona yields to Iago's insinuations. Sudden and intense emotion stunts his nature and makes it incapable of resistance."

In the critic's reasoning flaws abound. Such a mind is the reverse of strong and healthy, and so feeble an intellect and overweening an imagination would be strange in any man, and all the stranger in a great general and viceroy, "whom passion could not shake,"—

whose solid virtue
The shot of accident nor dart of chance
Could neither graze nor pierce.³

Quite the contrary, we have seen, is the impression he makes in the Council-chamber. Not a ripple is there in his equanimity, for all Brabantio's abuse; and when before that he hears from Iago of the Magnifico's scurvy and provoking terms which prompted the honest fellow to "yerk him here under the ribs," he says, "'Tis better as it is," and no more, in fine preparation for the high carelessness of his reception to his father-in-law's outcries and armed approach:

Put up your bright swords or the dew will rust them!

Put up your doubts and cavils, Iago, men are not so easily stunned. What woman, even, however frail and inexperienced, was ever thus paralyzed by the mere breath and whisperings of slander, so as to believe her husband false?⁴ Desdemona is crushed for a moment by her husband's cruelty

¹ Cf. Bradley, p. 191, and many others.

² Among the orthodox this bit of "psychology" is constantly reappearing, though it implies both that his trust in Desdemona in the first instance is not absolute (which they would deny) and that he hasn't the brain of a rabbit (which, of course, they would deny as well). Indeed, with these implications we all must have nothing to do, for they are contrary to the tenor of Act I.

³ IV, i, 277.

⁴ Except, of course, in a play, when a situation is at stake. Imogen, as readily as Posthumus, believes the stranger Iachimo when he reports her lover's infidelity, and disbelieves him again only when he makes his own infamous proposals. *Cymbeline*, I, vi.

and disbelief, but her love and faith go on to the end. A childish simplicity and implicitness of faith, no doubt, is what Mr. Rose, like many critics, German and English, is supposing; but what child, for all his inexperience of duplicity, would hesitate a moment to give the lie to the man who speaks ill of his parents or his friends? There is the sophism—that trustfulness precipitates one into suspicion, that, with an Iago at hand, the unsuspecting is just the one to fall utterly a prey¹ to doubts which his heart has never known. "A man of honest, unimagined mind,"² says Professor Schelling, applying to the similar Posthumus, what, with a different "psychology," had been said by Ulrici and others of Othello, "to whom Iachimo's fabricated proofs appeal, but to whom his dastardly trick is unimaginable."³ But Imogen's—Desdemona's—falseness is, then, imaginable! "Naïveté, a childish ignorance of the world and man," says Dr. Wolff;—"why should his tried and trusted Ancient deceive him?" But why should Desdemona? "Othello had no defence against it," says Mr. Brooke of Iago's plot, "because he was entirely incapable of conceiving or understanding anything so ignoble."⁴ If experience—or inexperience—or nobility of soul makes him trust Iago, all the more, then, should the one or the other, and his heart's love into the bargain, make him trust her, who had without stint or limit trusted him. No doubt proof of the falseness of the loved one might lead a trustful child or man to be suspicious generally; but into suspicion Othello is precipitated, without proof. And it is only by means of a specious and unreal psychology, as I said, that he is made incapable of distrusting the testimony which his whole nature forbids him to accept, to the point of distrusting the testimony and character of those whom both his nature and their own forbid him to discredit. "His unquestioning faith in Desdemona is his life,"⁵ says Sir Walter Raleigh,—in so far that he immediately forsakes her and turns wholly to Iago!

The "struggles against his own nature" and the "effort" to think I, for one, cannot find in the text. True it is that Othello does not "attack Iago's conclusion," and argues (if he argues at all) only the minor point: Why is she false? But there, again, is convention, and Shakespeare's method,

¹ Cf., Wolff i, pp. 164, 167; Gervinus, p. 530; and it is at the root of the teaching of the orthodox from Coleridge to Bradley (p. 186) and Raleigh (see below).

² The warrant for this, as for many another bit of Shakespearean psychology is simply not to be found in the text. Like Leontes and Othello Posthumus has, up to his wife's apparent death, an imagination capable of conceiving, not the slanderer's treason indeed, but his wife's, in bestial and preposterous detail. See above, *passim*.

³ The fact is, Othello is not, as Ulrici and the others declare, wholly incapable of entertaining the thought. See, for instance, III, iii, 131-2, 367-72, quoted above. He does not entertain it for long simply because, on the basis of convention, he must trust Iago; but he can conceive of treason well enough.

⁴ Wolff, II, p. 164; Schelling, i, p. 575; Ulrici (Bohn), i, p. 427; Brooke, p. 185.

⁵ *Shakespeare* (N. Y., 1907), p. 204.

through and through. Once the Ancient has spoken, as we have repeatedly observed, Othello, though he says he does, never really doubts Iago, never again believes his wife. But it is not in the least that he cannot "bring his intellect" to the point, or that it is "against nature." Must the same be said then of Gloster, in *King Lear*, of Claudio, in *Twelfth Night*, of Posthumus and Philaster? Are all of these "stunned" into believing? Against honest doubt the fabric of slander could never have stood for a moment, and it is but the effect of shrewd and skilful handling (common on the Elizabethan stage) that it should not even be called in question. And for that matter, whether there is slander or not, Elizabethan heroes seldom halt betwixt two opinions or long delay a choice. They do not fairly debate matters like the French; indeed, they do not much heed the dictates of duty or reason, but at most bring in reason to justify their virtuous or unvirtuous desires.¹ As has been remarked by Wetz,² M. Faguet, and others, they, unlike the heroes of Racine and Corneille, suffer from no conflict or contention of passions. There may be momentary revulsions, eddies or ripples in the current, as when Desdemona in her heavenly purity appears, but the stream keeps due on—

like to the Pontic Sea,

Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
To the Propontic and the Hellespont.

Desdemona, Juliet, Imogen forget their love or duty to parents and country—Helena, Olivia, and Perdita forget their grief for the death of father or brother—as one and all they give away their hearts and hands.³ But they are not therefore unsisterly, unfilial; neither does the poet intend to intimate that they "see or hear nothing but their Apollo, and that all things else have lost their worth."⁴ In the simplicity and intensity of his method and purpose, he is not careful to avoid implications which are farthest from his mind. To his heroines sexual love is above everything; the filial Antigone was perhaps beyond the poet's range of interest; but it is doubtful if he conceived their love as devouring and swallowing up every other affection.

¹ Cf. Wetz, pp. 175-6. This is, however, a very different thing from the suggestion of a subconscious undertow of passion, to be discussed later. The debate is not fine and complete, but in the lacunae there is no intimation of incalculable forces underneath the surface.

² Pp. 200 f; 425-6.

³ Olivia forgets her sorrow for her brother as soon as she sees Viola, disguised as a page. Professor Matthews (*Shakespeare*, p. 340) remarks upon Perdita's readiness "to desert her supposed father in callous unconcern at the moment when his life is threatened," but seems to explain it as I do here. Helena "thinks not on her father" and "has forgot him" (*All's Well* I, 4, 90-4), but this may be only extravagance of expression. Compare Rumelin on the effects of exaggeration in Shakespeare, as an implication which he did not intend.

⁴ Bulthaupt, pp. 228-9. But rightly he rejects the subtle and fantastic notion that Desdemona shows her affection sufficiently by refusing to vex her father with her presence. That is not enough when parting from a heart-broken father, perhaps for ever. And rightly he rejects the notion that, Cordelia-like, Desdemona has no word of comfort because she has no consciousness of wrong doing, or, in the circumstances, thinks "to love and be silent" is kinder.

to the point of making them indifferent or harsh. And Hamlet and Brutus, the only characters who can be said to have problems, hardly present them, and soon dispose of them, without scene on scene of Cornelian debate. Only the passion is presented, not the dilemma, least of all, the ebb and flow of passion, speech by speech and scene by scene, from doubt to confidence, from resolution to indifference, from devotion to country to devotion to one's friend. A new thought, a new passion, drives out the one before; and seeing that this is still more the case in the poet's earlier period than in his prime, it must be a matter merely of the poet's art, not of psychology, still less, of an attempt at historical reconstruction.¹ If, therefore, Othello, unlike Orosmane, never again believes in his wife, it is no more that he is unable to bring his intellect to bear on the question than that he is jealous or suspicious by bent and bias.

What Mr. Rose observes concerning Othello's taking Desdemona's guilt for granted, is true, moreover, not only at the moment when he is "stunned" but throughout his course. In the temptation scene he says:

I think my wife be honest and think she is not;
I think that thou art just and think thou art not;

but by that the poet expresses only the conventional uncertainty of jealousy.² It is an emotional matter and no more. He calls not a single statement of Iago's in question, before or afterward. "You would be satisfied?" asks Iago. "Would? Nay, I will." "Death and damnation!" is his answer to Iago's reply, and forthwith he "snatches" at the "exsufflicate and blown surmises" of Iago's proofs—the dream and the handkerchief. *C'est certain*, répondit Panther; *il ne reste plus qu'à le prouver!* The oath follows hard upon. And even before all this he is continually taking her guilt for granted, though as yet he has had no proof at all.

What sense had I of her stolen hours of lust?

he cries as he reappears after Iago has pocketed the handkerchief. Before that, as we have seen, he feels the pain in his forehead even in his lady's beatific presence. And, still earlier, he asks, "Why did I marry?" thinks it

¹ See Wetz (48-50, 86-88, 251-3), who thinks the abruptness of his art, as in *Henry VI*, is only his way of painting impulsive, semi-barbarous times, and calls in anthropology and Benvenuto Cellini to bear him out though he himself recognizes that in a later play of an earlier time, as *Richard II*, the barons do not change their allegiance so frivolously. Thus Andronicus has two thoughts—but one at a time—to honor his dead sons and to honor Saturninus. To honor his sons he kills Tamora's son, and yet expects her to be grateful to him for bringing her prisoner to Rome, where she has married an emperor. To honor Saturninus he tries to recover his daughter and kills a son who thwarts him in it. Yet after he has got from Saturninus insults for his gains, and sees his sons dragged off to execution, and Lavinia mutilated, he turns against Saturninus, and Tamora, to the point of cutting off his hand. All this Wetz thinks much to the poet's credit and takes for the presentation of *Menschen von einer bestimmten Entschickung* (p. 87). Friesen and Bulthaupt demur, and who would not be aghast at such *Kulturgeschichte* as of a Browning, imported into the most primitive and atrocious tragedy the hand of genius ever penned?

² See above, p. 12.

the curse of marriage that we can call these delicate creatures ours and not their appetites, and in the "forked plague" finds "destiny unshunnable." Only twice, and that near the beginning, does he make any head against the tide of his passion, as in the beautiful lines:

Nor from mine own weak merits will I draw
The smallest fear or doubt of her revolt,
For she had eyes and chose me;

and again:

I do not think but Desdemona's honest:

but, immediately, on he is swept again by the Propontic current—

And yet how Nature erring from itself . . .

"Stunned" or not, Othello is Iago's—never more Desdemona's—from the moment when first the Ancient "echoes" his words. *Dès le premier mot, tout est dit, tout est décidé. Adieu pour jamais Desdemona, adieu Othello!* And De Broglie goes on aptly to say that we follow their course not with the restless curiosity which turns again and again from fear to hope, but with something of the inexpressible anguish which takes possession of us when at a court of justice we see the futile struggles of wretches dragged to an indubitable condemnation.¹

All the rest of what Mr. Rose has to say finds as little support in the text. Where is the slightest trace of "fluttering"? Othello uses no judgment, indeed, but, whether in conversation or in soliloquy, there is not a hitch in his mental processes or a sign of constraint. Mr. Rose's argument amounts almost to this: Othello is stunned and cannot think consecutively, but, making an effort, he everywhere thinks as consecutively as any one can. As I have elsewhere shown, when a character is really making an effort, and speaking as naturally he would not speak, Shakespeare is always at pains to make the matter clear.²

Giles³ has a bit of psychology very similar to this of Mr. Rose. On Othello's farewell to his profession "Farewell the plumèd troop," etc., he remarks: "Othello does not here allude to his present grief or to his recent happiness; but, with a terrible spring of the mind, he leaps the chasm of affliction into which he cannot dare to look, and alights on the other side, amidst the turmoils of his youth, amidst the noise and glories of his soldier-ship. This is the instinct of the mind to save itself from madness," etc. The critic seems not to appreciate the simple purport of apostrophe in Elizabethan dramatic technique, which had not yet eliminated lyrical and de-

¹ Furness, p. 452.

² That is, by aside or soliloquy, or by the context. Cf. my articles, "Anachronism," pp. 561-2, 568; "Falstaff," p. 233. Compare, in the *Maid's Tragedy*, III, i, the mirth of Amintor, the forced character of which is made perfectly apparent.

³ Furness, p. 201-2.

clamatory elements. And he is evidently following in the steps of Coleridge when he finds in Hamlet's digression on wassailing "a desire to escape from the impending thought," and his tendency (as Coleridge conceives it) "to run off from the particular to the universal, in his repugnance to personal and individual concerns."¹ In the steps of both follows Mr. Frank Harris² when he remarks on Romeo's and Hamlet's peculiar habit of talking to themselves, ever ready to unpack their hearts with words, and on Hotspur's loquacity, despite the fact that he has not "the gift of tongue" and "professes not talking." Which is as much as to ignore the fact that from beginning to end the Elizabethan dramatic method was founded on speech and outcry, that scenes such as that in *Justice* where with never a syllable the prisoner paces his cell and pounds on the door, or such as that in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*, where Paula's secret is gathered by Ellean merely from the expression of her face, were things as yet undreamed. In Shakespeare "the secret'st man of blood," like Richard, Macbeth, or Iago, must be vouchsafed soliloquies and even some few confidences to others,³ as well as a lover like Romeo, a dreamer like Hamlet, and a boon-companion like Falstaff; and on his stage William the Silent could no more have been suffered to hold his tongue than is Master Silence of Gloucestershire.⁴

Instead of being stunned Othello is, we have seen, excited. The only cases of such momentary paralysis in Shakespeare are those which Mr. Rose has noticed: Desdemona after Othello's visit to her as a courtesan,⁵ and Macduff when he hears of his wife and children's death. Similarity there is none. Othello does not, like them, repeat the words he hears in a blank, unmeaning way, and his thoughts neither halt nor wander. On the contrary he is at once aroused, "frighted," as he confesses, and all intent upon Iago's every syllable and gesture. His passion flames steadily higher and higher, moreover, and it is upon the depiction of this that the dramatist's art is expended, not upon the devious mental processes from which it might arise or by which it might be accompanied. His mind works straightforwardly, so far as it can be said independently to work at all. When Iago leaves him he thinks for himself, in his soliloquy,⁶ of his lacking the soft

¹ *Lectures on Shakespeare* (Bohn ed., 1900, p. 355). Coleridge then proceeds to take notice of a far more relevant consideration—the fact that "by entangling the attention of the audience [and of the characters on the boards, we may add] Shakespeare takes them completely by surprise on the appearance of the Ghost." And he might have gone farther, and have observed, that besides being dramatically effective, these casual and incidental remarks of Hamlet's are, if not psychologically significant, at least very natural and human. See below, p. 66, note.

² Pp. 11-12, 89-90.

³ See above, p. 27, note.

⁴ See Dr. M. L. Arnold's *Soliloquy in Shakespeare* for evidence that many short soliloquies are given to characters simply to occupy them till others arrive to talk to. The familiar business of yawning, lighting lamps, undressing, or the like, was apparently not in use.

⁵ IV, ii, 96-102.

⁶ III, iii, 258 ff.

parts of conversation and his being descended into the vale of years,—matters which Iago had not urged. That of itself shows that he is not stunned, and is neither forcing his mind nor helplessly fluttering as he goes from one minor point to another.

The implication of any theory of stunning or blinding is really equivalent to the notion that Othello is dull and stupid, and, indeed, it is far truer to Shakespeare to betake ourselves to that opinion without ado. A mind which is so easily incapacitated is as good as no mind, and if that Shakespeare had meant, he would certainly at once have made his meaning clear. He was the last man to take the longest way about. And the same may be said to all the other psychological theories. "On matters like that Othello cannot think," says Sir Walter Raleigh, who may be thought to speak for the best orthodox opinion; "he is accustomed to impulse, instinct, and action; these tedious processes of arguing on dishonor are torture to him; and when he tries to think, he thinks wrong."¹ He thinks well enough, of course, until Iago takes him in hand; and it is hard to see how a man such as is here described could have been a general at all.

"He has arrived at full middle age," says Mr. Brooke admirably, "and has won the trust and respect of the most jealous and difficult of governments. All men honour his integrity, his skill in war, his ability in governing men, his self-governance, his temperate nature, a ruler of men who rules himself. He has also seen the world and mixed with many men and events in an adventurous youth: . . . a man, then, not liable to give his trust rashly, to act on mere suspicion, without inquiry, to be ignorant of the evil which is in men. Yet this is the great improbability which Shakespeare creates for him—"

though by turning it into a blind, deaf, unreasonable Chance Mr. Brooke, to be sure, surmounts it. The fact is, Othello thinks wrong not merely when dishonor is touched upon but at every turn of Iago's transparent and unpalatable imposture.

It is all very well to repeat that Othello is naïve, simple, unanalytical, accustomed only to impulse and action; but a child or a savage, we in turn must repeat, has common sense. No one short of an idiot or a "criminal born" would think Iago's lies about the dream and the stolen handkerchief cause for falling straightway to one's knees and swearing to kill one's wife. Without inquiry, without weighing the evidence or the motives of the slanderer, without leaving the stage or even drawing back a bit from the brink of the terrible moment—surely, if we put convention aside, either the Moor was jealously eager for her death, or, if any one ever did, he allowed "that capability and godlike reason to fust in him unused."²

¹ 141-2. Cf. Bradley, p. 189.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 173-4.

³ Weitz, pp. 378-80, in attempting to refute Bolthaupt when he declares that if Othello and the other characters had had a grain of Iago's wit he could never have had his way, dwells upon the

It is quite impossible, however, that Shakespeare should have had it in mind to present a fool or a dolt. Wetz himself says that Iago's method—of inflammation rather than argument and proof—is always the method in Shakespeare, though his heroes are meant not only to have the normal amount of intelligence on which Bulthaupt insists¹ but even to be clever. Only in these sympathetic, degenerate days—and then less often on the stage than in the more expensive playbooks—shall you find heroes with weak faces and a weaker wit. It is contrary to the Shakespearean and Elizabethan spirit generally that in tragedy a hero should be less than his name. A villain, now and then, he may be, but never a dupe or gull. And whenever Shakespeare does intend to represent stupidity it is as evident as when he intends to represent a villain or a coxcomb. Besides, all the other characters, more especially Desdemona and Emilia (and there are not wanting those who say it) must, then, labor under the same imputation, and be stupid too.² Where everybody is stupid nobody is stupid, just as where everybody is "wilful, headstrong, forthputting and intolerant of opposition," as in *Romeo and Juliet* he is by Professor Matthews³ taken to be, we had better at once put aside our doctrines of heredity and family likeness, and look to the author's technique, the artistic cipher or shorthand of his intention.

This stupidity is purely a matter of implication, being inferred from the improbability of the intrigue and the grossness of the imposition, just as wilfulness and regardlessness of consequences are inferred from a violent and unmotivated plot. In general it may be laid down that not so in Shakespeare (or perhaps in any playwright) is stupidity depicted—that is, indirectly, by intentional (still less, unintentional) improbabilities and inconsequences in the action—but by the words in its mouth. Incoherence in structure does not mean stupidity in the character any more than, as we have seen, it means fate, chance, or luck, in the world. Roderigo is a case in question,

fact that the most intelligent people may be blinded by passion. He does not consider that that is beside the question, which is whether Shakespeare represents Othello's obtuseness as due to passion (he is blind enough, we have seen, before his passion is aroused), and also, if he does, how in the world Desdemona and the rest get blinded too.

¹ Wetz, p. 378.

² It is true that nowadays—and possibly it was the case in Shakespeare's time as well—Othello's endless repetition of "honest" at moments when he is being "led by the nose as tenderly as asses are" has been known to make the pit titter or laugh outright. Bulthaupt says he has observed this, and I have done so myself. But this can be considered only a miscalculation of effects, not unheard of among dramatists to-day. Cf. Brandes, p. 443, and below, p. 41, note.

³ I do not wish to suggest that Romeo is not rash and impetuous, for in his defiance of fate before and after Juliet's death, as well as in the Friar's reproofs, it sufficiently appears. But I cannot see that the poet means to present the trait of wilfulness in Juliet, the Friar, and the Prince. Tybalt of course is a fire-eater, but Capulet is violent, as Wetz says, only as all the other Shakespearean fathers are when they are crossed—one might add, as all masculine Shakespearean characters are. Rage, violence, the extremest statement, the rashest and most intemperate conduct, and ill-considered deeds of blood, are to be reckoned against villains and heroes alike and consequently, it being so manifestly the thing on the stage to do, we can no more turn it all into character than we can the wit, the splendid poetry, the obscenity, which, now and then, is put into almost anybody's mouth.

Being a ninny primarily by virtue of what he says and what Iago says about him, by virtue of what he does and not what he fails to do; and only the inflexible consistency of German criticism would have him besotted by his passion as well as the Moor. Even Roderigo is not stupid enough to have been duped and gulled as he is; having received at the outset Iago's confession of diabolical duplicity and a willingness to serve others only in order to serve himself, it is impossible that he should have been continually handing over to him money and jewels and doing his dirty work, without anything in return but impudence.¹ If it were not for the exigencies of the plot, what he says at the end of the second scene of the fourth act about being "fobbed," which makes Gervinus say (strangely enough, though, if convention be forgotten, not without reason) that he surpasses the General in acuteness,² even a ninny such as he would have said long before. The merest simpleton might well begin to be suspicious after being told nine times in fifty lines to "put money in his purse,"³ and before that purse is empty.

So, if it were not for the plot, Emilia would have spoken up about the handkerchief when she saw that Desdemona was distressed about it, and that the Moor himself, as she remarks, was jealous. "In fact," says Professor Bradley in all good faith, "she never thought of it. . . . Her stupidity in the matter is gross, but it is stupidity and nothing worse." Worse by far, for it is out of character,⁴ or, you might say, with character it has nothing to do. To be sure, she does not keep silent (an objection which Mr. Bradley probably has it in mind to meet) for fear of Iago⁵—her undaunted loyalty when questioned later by Othello, before and after he has killed his wife, establishes that. But it is she, not Desdemona, who divines his jealousy; it is she who, twice over,⁶ suspects "some busy and insinuating rogue" as the cause of it; and why, then, should her shrewdness and her eagerness to serve her lady not prompt her to speak up about the handkerchief on the spot, or at least to demand it again of Iago, in case it transcended her imagination to conceive that he was the rogue himself?⁷

¹ Wetz (p. 270) makes it the blinding of passion, but Flather, whom he quotes with disapproval, hard-headedly thinks it strange for Iago to show Roderigo that he himself is not to be trusted.

² P. 531.

³ I, iii.

⁴ Bulthaupt, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-33.

⁵ Traumann, *Jahrbuch*, xxxi, p. 252. This is the motive once given in the novel (Furness, p. 384) for her failure to disclose his plot, but Shakespeare, had he meant the like, would have been more explicit. From silence we can infer nothing, (see my articles *Anachronism in Shakespeare's Cymbeline* and *Hamlet and Iago, Kuttredge Anniversary Papers*, p. 271); and Emilia's sturdy fidelity, for which Shakespeare owes nothing to Cintio, puts it in this case quite out of the question.

⁶ IV, ii, 15; 131 f.

⁷ Shakespeare, of course, felt the weakness, and tried to lift us over the thin ice by the threefold repetition of "my husband" at the end. It had been "unimaginable," as the critics say of Othello and Posthumus. But this is a bit of dramaturgy, not psychology or life. It is impossible that so shrewd and worldly-minded a woman should not have suspected the busy Iago

Any dramatist who, in a similar plight, should admit of the defence that the critics set up for Shakespeare would be jeered at to his dying day. In fact this "stupidity" or forgetting is only another instance of the besetting sin of criticism, the confounding of fact and fiction, of literature and life. It is like arguing the prodigiousness of Iago's powers of dissimulation and self-control from his success in imposture;¹ or Falstaff's bravery from his going into battle and jesting there;² or Amintor's personal charm from the fact that he has brave Melantius for a friend and two beautiful ladies to die for lack of his love.³ From fact no doubt such inferences may rightly enough be drawn, as in reading biography or history; but in fiction the qualities in question, unless by other means they indeed achieve realization, can have no existence whatever. How could he but succeed—how could he but jest—how could he but be hopelessly loved—seeing that such is the story, seeing that *ainsi le veut l'auteur*?

The explanation of Schlegel—her "sinful levity," which prompts her "not to confess to the taking of the handkerchief"⁴—simply makes another breach in her character in order to fill up this, taking no account of the heartiness of her advocacy later, first to the Moor, then to Iago, and then to the Moor again after her lady's death. And thus her death scene, as she plays the swan and sings "willow, willow," already so alien to her stout character as to be a bit sentimental, becomes irritating in the extreme. Schlegel, to be sure, in *vieler Hinsicht kein Mann*,⁵ was, for all his learning and insight, hardly the one to understand how a woman could speak lightly and loosely of the marriage tie and yet to her mistress be staunch and true; but it is not among the least of Shakespeare's glories that the like cannot be said of him.

(who had wooed her to steal the handkerchief, had snatched it, and told her to hold her tongue) now that all this trouble is brewing under her nose. The improbability lies deep—not in her character, but in the convention of the villain who can have free play only by dint of no one knowing his nature, not even his wife. Professor Matthews (p. 243), cited below, accounts it one of Shakespeare's improvements upon the *novella* that Emilia should be without suspicion—that Iago should, by inference, have been clever enough to deceive his wife as he does every other mortal. He *does* deceive her, but is *not* clever enough.

¹ Bradley, p. 217. This, indeed, is the process by which all the orthodox have arrived at the notion of his "superhuman art." (See note above). So Professor Matthews (p. 247): "He has a self-control so marvelous that he impresses all who know him as bluff and plain spoken," etc. In life it is hard, but in a play it is easy, and I should marvel at the poet's art more if Iago's had met with difficulties, and before the last scene were by some people suspected, like Tartuffe's. "Where they do agree on the stage," cries Mr. Puff, "their unanimity is wonderful." To Puff, no doubt, the reiteration of the word "honest"—fifteen times on the lips of others, says Mr. Bradley, and some half dozen on Iago's own—would have carried conviction, though to us it makes his success the more incredible. In the end, we have seen, it makes at least an untutored audience titter. Unanimity at the poet's fiat counts for next to nothing, and in real life so importunate a reputation for simple truth-telling would be worse than no reputation at all. It is another case of Shakespeare's overdoing the matter.

² See my article, "Falstaff."

³ G. C. Macaulay, *Francis Beaumont*, p. 138.

⁴ Furness, p. 432.

⁵ Eckermann, *Gespräche* (1910), p. 497, Goethe's own remark.

As for Desdemona, we have seen already that according to Professor Bradley she too does not "remember" that she had used the handkerchief for Othello's head in the scene preceding. According to others she is so "stupid" (the highbred and delicate maiden!) as to prevaricate when he asks her for it, instead of calling Emilia to witness that she had just been complaining of its loss; so stupid as not to read in him the signs of jealousy betimes, and as to turn to pestering him with the suit of the only man (this too she does not see) who could possibly put Othello to the "ill thinking" which she had just presaged; so stupid as, having read the signs before the scene is over, to fail to concern herself further about the cause of them, or about any relief she might bring either to her lord or to herself. For the matter of that, she is still harping on Cassio in Act IV, where she enlists Lodovico in his favor and by her tactlessness provokes her husband in public to strike her in the face.

Everybody else is taken in by Iago, moreover, and the play becomes the tragedy of fools. Cserwinka, at least, makes it a play of misunderstandings, a *tragedy* of errors, we might say. And Berger, the recent director of the Burgtheater in Vienna, an admirer of the poet, a constant producer of his plays, says as much of all of them. "Ever and again the subject of his plays is the way men mistake the world and thereby come to ruin, or are shown to be fools. . . But always Shakespeare conceives this illusion of passion which possesses his heroes as something totally senseless and crazy. Justifiable passion as the motive force which brings about the tragic conflict is wholly unknown to him. . . . In comedy the joke, in tragedy the serious issue, depend only on deception or delusion."¹ No doubt the writer has in mind such otherwise clever folk as Beatrice and Benedick, who, on hearsay, fall head over heels in love, and Falstaff, who in *Henry IV* is led into ridiculous plights from which only his ready wit can extricate him, and in the *Merry Wives* is duped and cheated again and again; or such otherwise clever folk as are taken in by the slandering or dissembling of Shylock, Don John, the Antonio of *Measure for Measure*, Richard, Edmund, Goneril and Regan, Iago, Iachimo, and Cymbeline's Queen, and thereby are plunged into calamity themselves or are made to plunge their dearest into it before them. Moved in a moment, as are two of these victims, by the word of an outwardly coarse and cynical, inwardly diabolical subaltern, or an avowed disbeliever in woman's virtue who has life, property, and his disreputable reputation hanging in the balance, the one to the point of stifling a guiltless young bride in her bed, the other to the point of ordering her death by a servant's hand—in these, if anywhere in a tragic conflict, rational and "justifiable passion" is far indeed to seek.

What Berger says is true, however, only if we ignore the convention—

¹ *Jahrbuch* xlix, p. 189.

the stage language—and the improbabilities at which Shakespeare and his generation did not stick. Really his is not a "great stage of fools," for the defects in motivation, the preposterous impositions whether of slanderous villain or of practical joker, fairy or human, are not meant uniformly to reflect character as they would today. Dramatic art had not yet heard so clear a call as it has since, to approximate to the "modesty of nature." The plot which develops austere out of the characters, without conspiracy or deliberate contriving, whether of the characters or of the presiding poet, would have seemed, even had Elizabethans known such a plot, a tame, unexpeditious affair. It would not have permitted them to tell out the story on the stage, as was their wont and delight, from beginning to end. And it would not have provided the temptations and persuasions, the "sudden alterations" and conversions, the contrasts of character with character and contradictions within the character itself, which offend our taste, indeed, but, because of the theatrical interest and effect afforded, rejoiced the Elizabethans. The people themselves, as well as their poet, would have chosen that, before they became jealous, Othello and Posthumus and Philaster should be the fine and generous fellows that they are, and that they should fall suddenly, unwittingly, into a traitor's snare. And they too would have chosen that at the end these heroes should emerge again, in their greatness undiminished. By the *sibi constat* they were never cheated out of their pleasure at a play. Not that, as some critics incline to think,¹ character was then more mobile and mercurial than now, any more than that Elizabethan wickedness was more villainous. Nothing could be more unscientific than to charge the romantic inequalities of Elizabethan art directly to the account of Elizabethan character and temper. Their art so far o'er-steps the modesty of nature, not because their nature, but because their notions of nature—notions of "modesty"—were less limited and refined than ours. It is only our naïve inclination to realism (the besetting sin, again, though now under cover of learning and history) which prompts us to find a picture of the times, rather than an exhibition of an irregular and "Gothic" taste, in the *miles gloriosus*, in conscious, gloomy or gloating villains,² in the

¹ See below, pp. 54-5.

² Against the views expressed in my article "Criminals in Shakespeare" it was urged at the Modern Language Association, a few years since, that criminals then were different, their conscious villainy and hostility to Heaven having been brought about by the Calvinism or Machiavellism of the time. What is so evidently primitive art, a self-consciousness whether in good or in evil, to be found in drama the world over, where Calvinism or Machiavellism never raised its head, and in better drama not extinct until some score of years ago, the critic was determined to make out to be a psychological reality, just as other critics have conceived that humorous conception the Braggart Soldier to be a typical character of the Alexandrian conquest or of the Spanish domination in Italy, or the Spanish, Italian, and Elizabethan maidens roaming about unrecognized in hose and doublet to be characteristic of Renaissance high life. No doubt there was in Elizabethan conduct a vein of self-consciousness not apparent now. Sidney's, Donne's, and Herbert's exits from the scene prove that. But that was due to the fact that public opinion had not yet established a standard of taste and common sense. And I am not aware of the slightest evidence that

violent and unreasonable changes from virtue to vice or vice to virtue, in the superfluous atrocities perpetrated on the stage, or in the indecencies incidentally uttered or relished by pure-minded ladies like Helena or Desdemona.¹ In the last some scholars who read the unprintable anecdotes of the time, think to find no offence to art, seeing that then the like were uttered and relished by the finest ladies without offense to decency. Which is as much as to say that Shakespeare could not reach beyond the facts, that his taste was not fallible but his imagination feeble, and that his genius was by no means what it has always been taken to be! What Shakespeare's intention is (however he may neglect it) plainly appears from Desdemona's later confession:

I cannot say 'whore.'
It doth abhor me now to speak the word.

And her pleasure in the Ancient's smutty jests is not in character at all.

As for the remaining theory, that the circumstances of Othello and Desdemona's union were dubious, and "that a love thus grounded in disparity is always unstable," it is to be found in conjunction either with the orthodox theory,² or with the theory of Schlegel (or the various modifications of it) that Othello is the half-civilized, harem-keeping barbarian, or, merely because of the extraordinary circumstances and Brabantio's warning,³ is suspicious or anxious from the first.⁴ In the one case these circumstances can, consistently, be made to affect him only through Iago's suggestion; in the other they are the ground and basis of the barbarian's fears. As before, the orthodox interpretation is less foreign to the text. Often it has been asserted that the union seems extraordinary or unnatural to everybody.⁵

then men were at all more conscious of the abysses of their own depravity or of the heights of their rectitude. If in the former case they were, how did they manage to exist? "A certain approval of conscience," says Carlyle, "is essential even to physical existence." But, as in the above article, I rest my case, not on psychology and surmises concerning the history of civilization, but on evidence drawn from the history of dramatic art. The character's consciousness of his utter villainy is only one of many points at which drama took as yet the absolute rather than the relative point of view, and thus showed that it was incompletely differentiated from the lyric and the epic. There is complacency in the speech of the good, grandiloquence in the speech of the great, and every emotion is inclined to be self-conscious. Anybody may discuss himself in soliloquy, acknowledge his own virtue or wickedness, nurse and measure his joy or sorrow, or forget the cause of his emotion in his external attitude to the emotion itself. The very language is rhetorical and declamatory, descriptive, external. Even in the matter of stage-setting artists could not take the relative point of view, and as late as in D'Avenant's time a distant prospect of the City of Rhodes furnished the decoration for scenes which were laid within the city walls.

¹ In Helena's ribald conversation with Parolles (I, i), and Desdemona's lending an ear to Iago's obacene jests on the quay (II, i). The scholar whom I have in mind is a friend who has not yet expressed the view in print.

² See Bradley, p. 193; Schelling, 1, p. 575.

³ Gervinus lays stress upon this, and once comes near to interpreting it as an effective curse in the style of *Schicksalstragödie* and *Richard III.* Cf. pp. 520, 531, 529.

⁴ Wetz, p. 287 f.

⁵ Wolff, ii, 170-171; Brooke, pp. 171-2; 190 1. Contrast what Professor Brandl has to say, p. 162, on the attitude of the other characters. . . . Even Brabantio, he observes, has been wrought

Really the only one shocked by it is Brabantio: Iago dares to cast aspersions upon it only in his presence, Othello's, and Roderigo's. After the Moor has killed his wife, Emilia tells him that she was too fond of her most filthy bargain, but the woman had said nothing of the sort before. And, like every one else, the Duke and Senate at the beginning and Lodovico and Gratiano at the end show the Moor only respect and admiration, and treat the marriage itself as above reproach. The Duke declares, when Othello's great speech is ended, that he thinks

this tale would win my daughter too;

and, again, as he concludes the deliberations,

If virtue no delighted beauty lack,
Your son-in-law is far more fair than black.

When Lodovico sees Othello strike his wife he has nothing to say against marrying Moors or strangers, either with or without a parent's leave, but is simply amazed that this can be

the noble Moor whom our full Senate
Call all in all sufficient,

thinks his wits must not be safe, and is "sorry."

○The whole situation is presented as in no way "unnatural," whether in itself or in the eyes of the world; and Othello neither has aspirations to ally himself with the higher race nor suffers through racial intolerance or prejudice.¹ He is happy to marry Desdemona, but not because she is a white woman or the daughter of a magnifico. And he speaks of his blackness as the cause of Desdemona's unfaithfulness but once—because Iago had urged it—and turns immediately to other causes—his unpolished manners and his age:—

Haply for I am black²
And have not those soft parts of conversation
That chamberers have, or for I am declined
Into the vale of years.

upon by the enemies of Othello. Wolff says that in the eyes of the world the marriage is a *Mische* and is unnatural. Brandl is right in affirming the contrary. Wetz (p. 292), to the same effect; and he aptly remarks upon the fact that Montano (II, i, 60-5) does not wonder at Othello, negro though he be, being able to marry a Venetian lady who "paragona description and wild fame."

¹ This is Schröder's view, as if *Othello* or the *Merchant of Venice* were Ibsenian social drama. *Titus Andronicus*, pp. 122-3: "Das Opfer seiner tragischen, zitternden Hoffnung, dass ihm, dem Angehörigen der fremden Rasse, doch die Liebe eines edlen Christenmädchens zu Theil werden könne. Othello fällt durch die Intoleranz oder durch seine durch fremde Intoleranz bis zum sträflichen Misstrauen und Unglauben gesteigerte Empfindlichkeit." The "Intoleranz" Shakespeare's art was equal to presenting, but there is no evidence that he attempted the task.

² Black he certainly is, and a negro, as some of the best recent critics, such as Dr. Furness and Dr. Bradley, have made clear. It is all well enough to remind us that in Shakespeare and other Elizabethans black often means "of a dark complexion," but of course Desdemona would not be quitting him for Cassio because of that. And Furness's proof drawn from Othello's

As we have seen, he is not of himself anxious or suspicious: the disparity of the union has, for the moment at least, only made him beautifully humble and grateful—

For she had eyes and chose me—

and neither does he reproach himself with an ill-assorted union nor, before or after his jealousy, does he or Desdemona or any one else show that consciousness of a lack of sympathy, due to short acquaintance¹ or inequality of age, which the critics insist upon, or due to racial differences in manners and customs, or to the misunderstandings arising from differences in physiognomic expression, which Mr. Bradley detects.² The truly Elizabethan character of the play appears from the fact that all the differences in rank, age, race and color, physiognomic expression, and point of view, which in a modern play or novel would act directly upon man and wife to alienate them, here have effect only as urged by the malignant lips of Iago, and that of these only the obvious, palpable ones are urged—race, color, rank, and age.³

More than on these, however, Iago insists upon the sensual, deceitful propensities of the fair Venetians, and Othello responds to the suggestion as to every other that Iago makes. If at this point we are to grant what Mr. Bradley himself would refuse to grant (but Wetz and the others assume) that the suspiciousness and jealousy are lurking or slumbering already in his heart—then this consciousness of the newly married man, who has not

words is unanswerable: "Her name that was as fresh as Dian's visage, is now *begrin'd and black* as mine own face." Cf. also Eckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 174. A striking proof that the word *Moor* was, as among the Germans at this time, exactly equivalent to *negro*, is not only its use as applied to the curly-haired, thick-lipped Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*, but also the constant interchange of the two words as applied to the equally unmistakable negro Eleazar, in *Lust's Dominion* (pub. 1657). Cf. Hazlitt's Dodsley xiv, pp. 135, 158; and Eckhardt, p. 175, as to Brome's *English Moor*.

¹ This is a circumstance insisted upon by many of the Germans, by Dowden (p 207), and by Bradley (p. 192).

CP. 193. See my article *Anachronism in Shakespeare Criticism*, pp. 561-2. Mr. Bradley condemns Schlegel's notion of Othello as a half-civilized barbarian because it imports modern *Kulturgeschichte* into the text, but he proceeds to import a still subtler racial psychology of his own. As Wolff says (ii, p. 167), "Nichts ist falscher als besondere Merkmale der schwarzen Rasse an Othello zu suchen," (p. 168), "keine volkpsychologische Studie." Or, as Mr. Bradley himself says, at p. 210: "With him (Shakespeare) the differences of period, race, nationality, and locality have little bearing on the inward character When he does lay stress on such differences his intention is at once obvious." And yet this notion of race psychology is continually re-appearing, even in those who, like Mr. Bradley, turn their backs on Schlegel—in Gervinus, Ulrici, Bulthaupt (*op. cit.*, pp. 233-4), and Eckhardt, p. 174 (Ein echter Neger . . . in seiner geradezu kindlichen Vertrauensseligkeit . . . wohl auch in der kühnen Todesverachtung, mit der er sich am Schluss selbst ersticht); but it is the palefaced Posthumus and Philaster, and not another Moor, who also exhibit these traits, though their hands are stayed. The *Zeitgeist* is of all spirits the most difficult to exorcise. But really the notion first appears not in Schlegel at all, but, like many another vagary of Shakespeare criticism, in Maurice Morgann, in 1777, *Falstaff* (1820), p. 64.

² Iago does not speak of age to Othello at all, but repeatedly to himself and Roderigo. Othello himself, however, speaks, in his soliloquy, of it and of his lack of polished manners, as if both things, one might suppose, had been suggested by Iago. See above, p. 45. It may be that the poet had a lapse of memory.

yet "lived with his wife for months and years," that "he is under the spell of a feeling which can give glory to the truth but can also give it to a dream,"¹ is simply a finer name for the "uneasiness" and uncertainty of the Germans.² Like the racial differences in physiognomic expression, moreover, it suffers from the further disability of not finding any vestige of representation in the text; and if Shakespeare's conception and intention are to be ignored, we had better make a clean sweep of the matter and turn out an Othello as predisposed and psychological—as German—as we can. Not once does the poet suggest that Othello "could not have known much of Desdemona;" on the contrary

her father loved me; oft invited me;
Still questioned me the story of my life.

He told it all, and to Desdemona once told it over again; Cassio "went between us very oft;" and Othello courted her by word—

upon this hint I spake—

as well as by letter.

All this, however, is neither here nor there: in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan drama acquaintance or lack of acquaintance counts for little, whether in matters of love or of confidence.

Who ever loved that loved not at first sight,

like Marlowe's Hero and Leander, like Shakespeare's Rosalind and Orlando, Romeo and Juliet, Olivia and Viola, Miranda and Ferdinand? And are these youths and maidens destined to matrimonial shipwreck, every one?³ The noble Leonato, moreover, is as ready to think his daughter foul as if he did not know her;⁴ Lear knows not Goneril, Regan, or Cordelia, but judges them simply by the words that they speak; Gloster trusts Edmund, who has been "out nine years," rather than the noble Edgar—and Edgar must needs trust him too⁵—who has stayed under his eye at home; and Posthumus

¹ Bradley, pp. 192-3. Somewhat the same idea is expressed by Mr. Brooke, pp. 190-1.

² Wolff, ii, p. 170, so far as the lack of acquaintance is concerned.

³ Troilus and Cressida love "right for the first sight" (l. 669), and on that basis one might quite as properly explain Cressida's infidelity, though it is far from Chaucer's thought. (For I cannot but consider Professors Cook and Root's interpretation of the character as artful and faithless from the beginning to be a symptom of that same modern craving for unity which has thwarted the intention of the author in the characters of Falstaff, Hamlet, and Othello.) One has to remember that these earlier poets were not careful to provide the "grounds of belief," and a psychological foundation for confidence or affection. Often in Renaissance drama a glimpse in passing, a picture, or even another's report of the beauty, is enough. In any case we must be measurably consistent, and it is very strange that critics like Professor Bradley should attribute Othello's lack of confidence in Desdemona to his lack of acquaintance, and yet not stick at the improbability of his confidence in a horribly wicked man, from whom, as Mr. Brooke admits, he "must have felt a natural repulsion," and whom, so far as we know, he has not known intimately at all—though the more he knew him, to be sure, the more improbable still his confidence might be.

⁴ *Much Ado*, IV, i, 116 ff.

⁵ Cf. Pellissier, p. 240, who justly remarks on the unplausibility of Edgar's taking Edmund's word for it that his father is in a fury with him, without either distrusting his brother or seeking an explanation from his father. Cf. Bradley, p. 257.

puts faith in the stranger rather than in Imogen, whom he loved, with whom he had been bred and reared.¹ And what good in the world would it do Othello to have known Desdemona longer, seeing that he puts faith in Iago, who has not been his friend, rather than in his friend and the wife of his bosom?² Indeed, with the Elizabethans, as with the psychologically uninitiate today, rather prevailed the romantic notion that the newly wedded and blissful husband should be less likely to lean to suspicion than "he who had lived with a wife for months and years." Iago's opinion, constantly reiterated, as to the time for that—when their passions shall have begun to pall³—is certainly far closer to Shakespeare's own than is the critics'. The question, however, simply did not concern the unpsychological, story-telling Elizabethan dramatic art. Quite as often, in fact, jealousy arises in lovers and the newly married as in those whose passion has run its course; yet that is due, not to the author's convictions and opinions, but rather to Elizabethan delight in the story as a whole, and in sweeping changes—love at its highest pitch flung flaming into jealousy and hate.

If for no other reason, psychology cannot be made out of the circumstance that Othello is newly married because of the vaunted system of "double time."⁴ For though according to the direct and explicit references of the plot Othello is tempted the day after the wedding night and Desdemona strangled thirty-six hours after her arrival in Cyprus, according to numerous incidental remarks and the general treatment of the characters and their relations to each other it would seem that Othello and Desdemona had lived together for weeks or months. Where there is a "double clock" there is little foundation for theories of experience and reality—for psychology, in short.⁵

¹ Without his knowing it, Imogen herself, with even less excuse, had for a moment done the like. See above, p. 32, note.

² It is of course absurd to urge that Cassio has by his drunkenness quite forfeited Othello's esteem and respect. Even in our teetotaling days men don't think a man capable of adultery with his dearest friend's wife simply because he has given way to a momentary temptation to drink. And a few score years after Shakespeare Hobbes could find matter for boasting even in the fact that he had not been drunk above a hundred times in his life.

³ By the device of "long time," indeed (see below, note 3), Iago is in a position to make it appear that this is on the point of coming to pass. See I, iii, 338-370; II, i, 224-252.

⁴ Furness, p. 358 ff, Thorndike, *Tragedy*, pp. 163-4. The fact of the contradictory time references cannot be disputed, though for reasons which I cannot here undertake to present, I cannot accept what is now the established explanation of them. (Much nearer the truth, if not the truth itself, is Miss Buland's Yale dissertation [1912] which has just met my eye).

⁵ Voltaire has been accused of doing violence to nature in *Zaïre* by crowding the full course of jealousy into the classical thirty hours, and Othello has been held up to him as a model (König, *Jahrbuch*, x, p. 269; ed. of *Zaïre* in the *Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*, p. xxxv). By "short time," as we have seen, Shakespeare himself crowds it into thirty-six hours. But the point at issue should be, not which is superior, the classic or the romantic formula, for between the two Voltaire at least was not at liberty to choose, but which of the poets has made more of his formula, or risen farther above it. And though in many respects the two dramas are not to be mentioned in the same breath, it is doubtful whether under all the shackles of the unities Voltaire has not contrived better to convey the illusion of long time, that is, of development. At

*En art rien ne compte que d'exprimé;*¹ and that is still truer of the Elizabethan drama than of ours. In Shakespeare's time poets did not leave such ideas to suggestion: what is more, they saw no such need as we moderns see of going before and preparing the way for a passion. If the general who had a tale of his love to tell like that in the Council-chamber, or the "worthy gentleman" who was blest with the heart and hand of an Imogen, could, without fit evidence or a hearing given, be brought, by a single slanderer, in an hour or so, to the point of resolving to kill his wife, you might think that any man in the world could too. And before the abyss of that conclusion the critics, ignoring convention, ignoring human nature still more, do not tremble or recoil. Ulrici and Professor Bradley, indeed, contemplate it with something of a Calvinist's fearful satisfaction, as a merit of the play.

" . . . Any man situated as Othello was would have been disturbed by Iago's communications, and I add that many would have been made wildly jealous." . . . Any husband would have been troubled by them."

"I should like to see the man—in Italy, in the wealthiest commercial city of the world, and at the time of the corruption of female beauty such as is described by Iago and reflected by Emilia's loose talk, as cleverly and cunningly deceived by a friend and military comrade (whom all the world considers a man of honor), and seeing the token of his love in the hands of a young amiable man, and whose doubts, moreover, are strengthened by the warm interest of his wife in her supposed lover, who would not become suspicious, and give an ear to the whisperings of the demon of jealousy! In fact the man who would not find this to be an adequate proof of infidelity, would have, in Arcadian simplicity, to consider women angels."

To such a pass of moral anarchy have we come with our confusion of life and literature, our theories of a Fate incarnate in a plot, our notion that

the one place where that illusion is indispensable, where Othello changes, Shakespeare, with weeks and months at his disposal, takes no pains to secure it. As in Greek plays such as the *Agamemnon*, the chief thing is not the bare assertion of lapse of time, but artistic arrangement,—the marking of stages and gradations, the judicious use of intervals provided in the chorus, division of scenes or acts, or conversations with minor characters, to suggest lapse of time where most it is needed. But whereas Othello becomes jealous in a single scene (from which he retires, indeed, with Desdemona, just after her heavenly appearance, but in which he appears again, jealous beyond recovery, as soon as Iago, who stays on the stage, has pocketed the handkerchief), Orosmane's first suspicion of Nérestan—or thought of a suspicion—is fanned by Zaire's repeatedly suspicious conduct, both when she is with him and when she is with others, during the intervals of her conversations with Nérestan and Fatme, and his own with Corasmin, until, suspicious circumstances piling one upon another, he in the end resolves upon her death. See above, p. 8. In tracing this development Voltaire might have been more skilful and consistent, but develop the passion he did, and gave, at the critical moment, the impression of long time, in the face of obstacles such as Shakespeare had not to meet.

¹ Gaultier, *Le Sens de l'Art*, p. 63: the same notion is constantly implied or expressed in Lippe's *Streit der Tragödie*, as p. 27-8, though it is little remembered in criticism.

² So recent and scientific a critic as Eckhardt (*Dialekt- und Ausländer-typen*, p. 174) echoes this opinion.

³ Bradley, pp. 192-4. I have reversed the order of the sentences, but the italics are the author's. Mr Brooke, pp. 190-1, seems for the moment to be of the same opinion.

⁴ Ulrici, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, 1, p. 408

"in Great Drama, in the *Agamemnon*, in *Othello*, in *Hamlet*, in *Macbeth*, there is an imagination at work whose laws are inexorable, are inevitable, as the laws by the operation of which the planets move around the sun!"¹ I cannot but be reminded of Charles Lamb's protest against *George Barnwell* as holiday edification for London 'prentices: "It is really making uncle-murder too trivial to exhibit it as done upon such slight motives; it is attributing too much to such characters as Millwood. . . . Uncles that think anything of their lives should fairly petition the Chamberlain against it." So married women, if criticism is to persist in its grim and truculent course, should petition against *Othello*, for certainly it is attributing still more to such characters as Iago, whose wiles cannot, in the nature of the case, turn to account the seductions of sex.

We have narrowly examined not only Iago's preposterous proofs, which these two scholars find to be cogent, but also the previous process, the tempering of Othello, before the Ancient seals with him, like wax betwixt finger and thumb. Even from his own point of view neither Mr. Bradley nor Ulrici can be said to have done this. Mr. Bradley, to be sure, takes pains to observe that in the first stage of the temptation Othello is confused and deeply troubled, feels even horror, but is not yet jealous in the proper sense of that word.² But with that we need not quarrel, seeing that he admits that the passion named raises its head in the subsequent soliloquy, and has already laid hold of Othello when in the same scene he reappears. Even on Mr. Bradley's showing the man has been made jealous at a blow. And yet these two eminent scholars from whom we have quoted, together with the others of the great company of the orthodox, from Coleridge down, will have it that the like could have happened to any man! This would be hard enough to understand even if in defiance of Shakespeare's intention they held that Othello was already anxious because of the situation and was suspicious at the core; but it is all the harder when the change comes about by the "charm of woven paces and of waving hands," the ramparts of personality—love, faith, common sense, and an instinctive knowledge of the good and the wicked—needing not to be stormed or scaled. But that so they will have it is in keeping with their philosophical (rather than historical) method, their indifference to the history of the drama and to the greater approximation of dramatic art in modern times to the realities of human life and character, and their resolute intention to discover a reflection of the world as it is or as we see it, in what, devised and fitted primarily for a highly conventional stage, was not, in our modern sense, even a reflection of the world as Shakespeare saw it himself.

He was, when all is said, a dramatist, and the rift which we have found

¹ Article *Poetry*, by Mr. Watts-Dunton, in the *Britannica*, 11th ed., p. 885.

² P. 194.

in Othello's character should not too much amaze us. Dramatists as famous as Euripides, Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster,¹ Corneille, and Molière, and as recent as Mr. Masfield, have left the like in the creatures of their pens, and Shakespeare and his fellows did so, as we have seen, particularly in cases of jealousy, without stint or scruple. "Iphigenia in Aulis on her knees in no way resembles her later self," says Aristotle² of one of the most moving of Euripides' dramas; and it is not merely the heroism of her later self for which we are not prepared, but the adult and enfranchised intelligence supplanting girlish naiveté. Evadne in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy*, thought to be "about as living a piece of human flesh as ever was put on paper,"³ lives in the thrilling scene in her bedchamber, in the scene with her husband and the king, and in many a speech after it; but in her conversion, her murder of her paramour in the capacity of a repentant and "abused lady," her love for the weak Amintor, or her death, she is hardly for a moment the proud and scornful woman "who loves her life well" and her pleasure.⁴ Corneille's tyrants and stepmothers, says Sainte-Beuve, are wicked through and through; but at the sight of a fine action they some-

¹ Cf. my *John Webster*, pp. 124-7, on the character of Bosola. The rôles of tool-villain and professional torturer, on the one hand, and of poetic meditator and indignant moralist, on the other, are, as I show, incompatible. In the latter capacity he broods and subtilizes, calls the soul in the body a lark in a cage, and weeps and mourns over the corpses of the Duchess and her children; and in the former he goes roundly to his work of torture and slaughter, with no more qualms or scruples than a Sultan's mute. When "on duty," indeed, he seems to enjoy it, and he lacerates the Duchess' spirit far more than his devoir as a feed "executioner" requires. And I show, as now I try to do in Othello, that the unity of the character lies in the tone and manner rather than in any psychology, and, in this particular case, in the tone of the character's utterances when "off duty"—when himself. It is these, and these only, that warrant Symonds' esthetic appreciation. In that discussion I now detect a bit of overstatement, as I say that Flamineo and Bosola are not men but malcontents and tool villains, "just as they might have been prologues and epilogues;" but what I had in mind was the lack of unity in their characters, the incompatibility of the two functions named, and on that I insist as much as ever. It is the same dissonance that I have noted earlier in my book (pp. 103, 108-11) in the characters of Marston's Malevole and Tourneur's Vendice, Flamineo's and Bosola's prototypes, who, when in disguise, play their parts in all their hideous indecency, for all that these are worth, despite their high-mindedness when out of it. Mr. W. W. Greg (*Modern Language Review*, October, 1906, p. 73), may call this comparative and analytic method "absurdly superficial" if he pleases, but I am content that scholars should judge of it, and judge between him and me.

² *Poetics*, xv, 5.

³ Thorndike's *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher*, p. 120.

⁴ Cf. Mr. P. E. More, *Nation*, (N. Y.), April 24, 1913, p. 410. I cannot see how Professor Gayley (*Beaumont*, 1914, p. 354-7) can undertake to deny that Evadne is "an incomprehensible tangle of passions." In the scene in the bedchamber itself you do not know what to make of her. Every speech is for situation and sensation, at almost any cost. Why should she be angry with Amintor, whom she has cozened and whom she presently declares that she pities? Why should she then ask him to kill the man who has wronged her, seeing that, until she is converted, she evidently prefers him to Amintor himself? She forgets the wish as soon as it is uttered: and it was uttered to heighten the mystery—to lead up to the promise to kiss the sin from his lips (which adds to the shock of the oath she in a moment repents to forbear his bed) as well as to lead up to the disclosure of the lover's name. It prepares, too, for the still unpalatable killing of the King by her own hand. Moreover, if, as Professor Gayley thinks, she despises Amintor for his pusillanimity, why in a moment should she confess that she lusts for him? Or, with this feeling, why should her ruthless, shameless animal nature respect for one moment her oath of fidelity to the King? The only answer is that to the dramatist stage-points are more precious

times face about and rally round the standard of virtue.¹ Molière's Tartuffe, subjected to the searching analysis of Lemaitre,² turns out to be ("without the playwright's being at much pains to harmonize the two natures")³ at first a gross hypocrite and guttler, and then, in order that he might really be the man to solicit the hand of Orgon's daughter and the favors of his wife, a clever and finished rake. It is an article of the faith that out of the characters are the issues of the plot, but Tartuffe and Othello and many another of no lesser name play the parts, and duly fill the rôles (though with a shrug, as it were), which have been destined for them. ●

Tartuffe est une espèce de grossier bedeau, de rat d'église, aux façons vulgaires et basses. Pétant de santé avec cela. . . . C'est un goinfre. Il mange tout seul, à son souper, deux perdrix, avec une moitié de gigot en hachis. Il rote à table. . . Un truand de sacristie, une trogne à la Callot, un pourceau béat, qui, au fond, ne doit pas être bien dangereux, qui ne demande qu'à manger, boire et dormir son soûl entre ses prières, et dont le fait est plutôt mômerie machinale et grimaces d'habitude qu'hypocrisie profonde et perverse. . . . Le second Tartuffe, élégant et redoutable, l'aventurier subtil, le fourbe renommé.⁴ . . .

And Mr. Masefield's Nan, patient and plaintive under the abuse and reproaches of her aunt, once wishes that this cause of all her woes may never feel the like herself, and that Dick, who has abandoned her, may be happy with her rival; but she draws a knife upon her aunt, poisons her rival, and stabs Dick. All her meekness and unselfishness, her self-forgetful love for her lover, old Gaffer, the flowers of the field and whatsoever things are lovely in the world, belong to one woman, and her readiness with the knife to quite another.

Why should Mr. Masefield have instead of one Nan two? Because the sentiments of a true-love who makes use of knife and poison are thought to be not more acceptable than those of a husband who strikes and throttles. And yet like Shakespeare he tries with might and main to make out of his

than psychology, or (rather) than truth to nature. No other view can fairly be taken of her conversion at the point of the sword, though it has even been applauded as the only way of dealing with a character like hers. "There is no way but the way of violence and terror," says the excellent scholar Macaulay (*Beaumont*, p. 143); "she may be terrified into a repentance which will be none the less sincere on that account." Thus Fletcher (for the scene is his) can procure not only a confession but repentance, and Mr. Macaulay and Mr. Gayley (p. 357), can put faith in the genuineness of both. Our critics share for the moment the moral and psychological views of the Inquisition, or of Salem in the witchcraft days. At bottom it is but an old stage trick, used in the *Spanish Tragedy*, II, i, as in *Cymbeline*, III, v, 84-103, and Dolce's *Marianna*; but in these cases, as applied to underlings, to procure information alone, it has far more psychological propriety than when used to coerce the spirit of a king's paramour, who has it in her to kill both the King and herself. Truth and not a lie, a change of heart and not a bit of hypocritical imposture, are here forthcoming only because for the purposes of his play the dramatist must have it so. The psychology is like that in the *Taming of the Shrew*—sweetness elicited from a bitter spirit by bullying and abuse. And that is in a farce, a fabliau!

¹ *Portraits littéraires*, i, pp. 46.7.

² *Impressions de Théâtre* (1892), iv. p. 37 ff.

³ P. 40.

⁴ It is true that the grosser nature appears mainly (though not wholly) through others' report, but Molière makes it clear that this report is his own verdict and the truth.

two characters with one name but one. Nan once draws the knife on her aunt when she discovers that she has thrown her coat into the pig-wash, only that we may be prepared for her drawing it later with deadlier effect. So Othello, though in the first act he could not be ruffled, is, just before the temptation begins, allowed to get angry with Cassio, accepts Iago's report of the incident without investigation as he does more momentously later, puts off some measure of his magnificent calm, is, in a way, "tenderly led by the nose" already.¹ So, too, he is given his foreboding on the quay, and on the very brink of calamity is given (though but as if in a dream or a picture) a fleeting glimpse of it:

Perdition catch my soul,
But I do love thee! and when I love thee not
Chaos is come again!²

And to the same purpose Nan, when she stabs her lover, is made to fall into Othello's cant. "Else she'll betray more men," mutters the Moor; and Nan shrieks, "Spare those women!" as she strikes her lover to the earth. But all this smoothing and scumbling of things over, whereby the contrasts of fine acting parts and thrilling situations are made more compatible and plausible, helps the psychology not a bit. It is the "art of preparation"—the art of the theatre rather than of the analytical novel, and nowise the image of life. Nan made Jenny eat of the dead sheep and stabbed Dick neither for love of justice nor for love of her sex, just as Othello strangled his "fair devil" quite regardless of her possible future betrayal of Cassio or still "more men." Psychology (though not stage verisimilitude) demands that heroes and heroines who do jealous and vindictive deeds should have jealous and vindictive sentiments to prompt them, or, if there is a slanderer, should really be the person to lend him an ear. *Natura non facit saltum*, but Nature is by the dramatist made to appear to do so, that Art may not.

Such a change as appears in Othello appears repeatedly in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan drama, without the same pains being taken to cover it up. Fletcher and Massinger have their heroes plunge from love into jealousy even more abruptly and more unreasonably, and their ladies cry, "Chastity, I renounce thee," or "Come home again, my frightened faith, my virtue," as if they were calling or chasing away a pet.³ Shakespeare him-

¹ II, iii, 204f, he gets angry before he has heard both sides.

² The passage has been made much of in order to prove the predisposition. At most, however, it can be considered to be a bit of dramatic hedging, an effort to make the transition to jealousy as the hour of temptation draws nigh. Very likely, however, there is no self-revelation to it, but the "when" is equivalent to "if," and "is come again" to "will come again." Cf. Furness, *ad loc.*:

For he being dead, with him is beauty slain,
And, beauty being dead, black Chaos comes again.

Venus and Adonis, 11020.

Cf. *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 486-89.

³ For the references see my *John Webster*, p. 178.

self has Leontes, when he hears of his son's death, converted in two lines; has Posthumus lose faith in Imogen the moment he catches sight of the bracelet; has Richard woo and win the woman who hates him, and whose husband and father-in-law he had murdered, in a single scene; and when he changes Timon, changes him from one all friendliness and generosity to one all bitterness and hate, with not a vestige of baffled affection left to tell the tale.¹ The abruptness of the transition—the length of the leap—ceases to amaze us, indeed, when we stop to consider the gulf that has been fixed between. We have no mind either to explain away or to complain of what the playwright delights in or deliberately chooses! In Greene's *Pandosto*² the jealousy of Leontes develops little by little, instead of bursting out of a sudden in the heart of a man who, apparently, had never known the passion before and is not to know it again. In Bandello's novel old Capulet has recourse to marriage only as a last resort after Juliet "falls into a sadness" for banished Romeo,³ instead of one day bidding Paris seek his daughter's consent (though before marriage "two more summers must wither in their pride"), and, the next, making, for no reason discernible, "a desperate tender of his child's love" with a view to a wedding o' Thursday next. Hamlet, Iago, Lady Macbeth, and King Lear, all have in the sources reasons for their conduct more relevant or plausible than those furnished in the plays. And for all that it stood in Lodge's novel before him, why in the world should Oliver abuse, rob, and twice conspire against the life of, Orlando, if he is to have the brotherliest companionship with him afterward and mate with the true-hearted Celia in the end?⁴ Oliver, Othello, Timon, and Posthumus, Anne and Elizabeth by their chief enemy persuaded, Edmund and Iachimo converted, Katharine tamed, and Benedick and Beatrice plunged head over heels in love in a trice—all these belong to an art which is so far from going before and preparing the way for a passion that it has passion, or another's eloquence, take the soul by storm and assault. The struggles of contraries—convulsions and conversions—rather than the throes of what is merely being born and bursting into life within, make up the stuff and substance of this art, as of that dramatic art which (though the trouble comes from a hand divine instead of a practical joker's or a villain's) is nearest akin to it,—the ancient.

Criticism has chosen, notwithstanding, to explain this away. Wetz, for

¹ One might add to the list cases such as Bertram's losing his aversion to matrimony and to Helena when at last she puts the ring on his finger; but often the *dénouements* of Shakespeare's comedies were frankly summary and external. That he was content to have them so, however, shows how unpsychological his conception was.

² Pellissier, pp. 10-11.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

⁴ Cases like this are numerous. The conversion of the heroine of Dekker's *Honest Whore* quite obliterates her former self. And compare the change in the lecherous old king in Fletcher's *Humorous Lieutenant*, as described in the article of Mr. More, *Nation*, May 1, 1913, p. 437.

instance, explains the conversion of Leontes and the success of Richard, like the shameful conduct of Claudio (not merely in repudiating Hero publicly but in jesting at Benedick's expense just after the news of her death), all on the basis of Renaissance character,—passionate, unreflective, running and leaping from one extreme to the other. But here is the besetting critical sin once more, and the difficulty lies not in the disposition of the people of the Renaissance but in the art with which they are presented—with which they were content.¹ Simpler men, says Wetz,² have stormy and passionate conversions; but that of Leontes is a recantation cool and complete.³ He sees, and remedies, the whole error of his course in the twinkling of an eye, whereas, however primitive, a man must, in letting go his old beliefs, fumble and grope a bit into the new. Such a man might change by leaps and bounds, indeed, instead of step by step, but he would stumble and fall back again into his old ways—his old jealousy—and not put on the new man at once and for ever.

The same is to be said of the barons in the English historical plays, who yield or renounce their allegiance as occasion demands, and never regret their breach of fealty to their former sovereign until they are disposed to a breach of fealty to their present.⁴ And Anne, who spits on Richard at the beginning of the scene, plights her troth to him at the end—as later Elizabeth bestows on him the hand of her daughter⁵—only on the strength of the old convention at the bottom of Iago's intrigue, the omnipotence of dissimulation⁶ and persuasive arts, and another even older, the frailty of woman. It is an idle thing for Wetz and others to accumulate historical

¹ Mr. More, also, in the article in the *Nation* cited above, seems to make this error as he compares the incomprehensibility of characters like Evadne on the stage with the incomprehensibility of the men and women of the time. He is dwelling on immorality, and at that point, or in respect to many another trait, such as servility, or belief in the divine right of kings, comparison is justifiable enough. But what is incomprehensible in the stage figure is the motivation, the structure of the whole, and that is not a matter of Elizabethan human nature but of art.

So Taine (*Hist. Eng. Lit.*, bk. II, chap. ii) says of Marlowe: "All this is pretty strong, you will say; these people loll too readily, and too quickly. It is on this very account that the painting is a true one," etc. But it is a matter of Elizabethan taste rather than of character. And a bold undertaking it would be to show that Othello was jealous without a jealous disposition, because in the Renaissance men could dispense with the like, and, when put into a play, needed no motivation. It was not the subject, but the dramatist and his audience (as such), that had no need of it. And we must not forget that the fact that in Shakespeare's day they had more need of it than in Marlowe's and in ours more than in Shakespeare's, is not altogether to be explained by a growing regard for truth and consistency in character. Abruptness in conduct also cuts the situation short, and spoils the harmony and rhythm of the whole. Above we have seen that Shakespeare himself was careful to smooth things over, even though he did not really motivate and prepare for Othello's fall.

² Pp. 114, 118.

³ *Winter's Tale*, III, ii, 146-73.

⁴ Examples abound, as in *Henry IV*, Pt. I, I, iii.

⁵ *Richard III*, IV, iv.

⁶ Gervinus and Fischer seem quite taken in by it, and the latter even declares that Richard does not dissemble! (Wetz, pp. 133-4). Even Wetz, who demurs, says, "Es setzt ein sehr grosses Seelenleiden voraus, wenn ein so harter Mann wie Richard zum Weinen und zu hoffnungsloser Verzweiflung gebracht werden konnte." (p. 125).

and psychological lore¹ in order to justify to us a method that the literary historian easily recognizes as customary and acceptable in Renaissance art, which had at command none of this lore, but intolerable in modern art, which has all of it.

Anne or Elizabeth is no more of the fifteenth century than of the twentieth; like the infinitely finer work in Othello, either is but a figure in sixteenth century dramatic art. Either inclines to marriage on persuasion, as Evadne, by another, still more expeditious and summary, convention, surrenders to virtue at the point of the sword.² *Tout se décide par la prière ou l'épée.* The game is always in the open, and is won or lost by persuasion or oratory, by force or threats of force. Even in those cases in which the struggle is internal, the Shakespearean character copes with himself in the same overt and face-to-face fashion. As in all Renaissance drama, the soliloquy given him is cast in the Senecan mould of apostrophe or question, debate or command.³ And, however summarily, he disposes of his scruples, and comes consciously to a decision, before he acts. Never does he act irresponsibly like Arthur Donnithorne, who rode off to Gawain's to escape a meeting with Hetty, but, not to miss it, galloped "the devil's own pace back again;" or like Raskolnikoff, who had not taken his murderous project seriously, but when the clock struck seven started as if awaking from a dream. Of that undertow of passion and predilection which sweeps us—considering and debating, choosing or refusing—imperceptibly but irresistibly on to our purpose, Shakespeare, like all other drama or fiction before our day, could have known nothing at all.

And Claudio can find it in his heart publicly to shame and repudiate Hero as Molière's gallants do the coquette Célimène, merely for the situation—or the sensation—and the plot. There is damage done to his character in the process, just as there is to that of the gallants and Alceste by their disloyalty in bartering confidences, reading other people's letters, and lending a ready ear to calumny,⁴ though in Claudio's case amends is made by his remorse. He cannot, moreover, have suspected Leonato of being privy to Hero's shame and of conspiring against his honor;⁵ for Claudio himself never suggests such a thing, treats him with respect in the church, and, at the meeting afterward, Claudio's friend Don Pedro calls Leonato "good old

¹ Pp. 118-126. Such a notion, for instance, as that Anne has a primitive indifference to relatives and spouse, that revenge is incumbent upon her as a duty to herself and her family rather than to the murdered, and that therefore, like Ximena Gomez, she does well to marry and allay the feud. The text of the scene, of all the play, of every Elizabethan play in which revenge appears as a motive, shows how little of that notion Shakespeare entertained. Or, again, such a notion as that she admires his strength as women often admire it in those who maltreat them and in criminals.

² See above, p. 51, note 3.

³ Cf. my article "Criminals" etc., and my article "Falstaff," p. 101.

⁴ M. Lemaitre, I think, somewhere remarks upon this.

⁵ As Wetz thinks, pp. 156-7.

man," and he himself is rude to him only in retort to his reproaches. And his derisive remarks about Leonato and his brother on a later occasion and his taunting of Benedick¹ are only a matter of the dramatists's playing the game of dramatic effect for all it is worth, until the peripety of exoneration and repentance is upon us. Before that Benedick must challenge him, and Benedick must be provoked. For the same reason, too, Leonato himself is made to turn against his daughter and threaten her life.² Shakespeare would have Hero stand on her wedding-day utterly alone and unbefriended, that Beatrice's love and loyalty may shine the brighter and have cause to call Benedick to their aid. Again and again it appears that theatrical effect, or the light and shade of the whole, is more precious in the dramatist's eyes than a character's integrity. But here he is not so careful as even with Capulet to make the utterance of parental rage compatible with the tenor of the part;³ and it is taking a character for flesh and blood again to remark that in such trying moments we cannot expect a father to keep his feelings under control⁴—cannot expect a fine man to keep from at once believing the worst concerning his daughter and threatening her, life and limb! All that we can expect, to be sure, is that the playwright should keep the character under control, should not sacrifice it to the plot.

"He did not write for German professors," says Rümelin, "who turn the pages back and forth, and out of the scattered speeches of every separate character try to fashion a finished whole." "He regarded his plays as a lively and changing scene," said Goethe to Eckermann, "which should pass rapidly before eye and ear, and his only interest was to be effective and significant for the moment."⁵ Proof of the truth of this opinion (if stated more moderately) we have found again and again as in former articles we have studied both Hamlet and Falstaff, particularly in the shifting of the great comic figure from the function of wit to that of dupe or butt.⁶ Sudden conversions and lapses are only the most unplausible part of a system common in Elizabethan plays, least unplausibly carried out in *Othello*, most brilliantly and speciously in Beaumont and Fletcher, whereby the chief

¹ V, i.

² *Much Ado*, IV, i, 125-9; 192-3.

³ Not that Shakespeare has motivated the change in Capulet from the point of view expressed in I, ii, 13-17 to that in III, iv, and after, but, once cause is given him to hasten the marriage, his jolly, boisterous nature is not incapable of his coarse rage on learning that his daughter declines the happiness which he has thrust upon her. Yet like Othello he changes in the making, and there is in him a gentle and sentimental strain at first (I, ii) that we do not find in the banquet scene and after, as the dramatist prepares us for his rage.

⁴ P. 161. Even so, Wetz's charity goes far, for Leonato, otherwise a fine old gentleman, is prompt to believe her unchaste and threatens her with death twice over. See above.

⁵ Eckermann's *Gespräche mit Goethe*, ed. Houben, p. 496. Cf. on the subject Creizenach (1909), IV, pp. 297, 299, 300. This was far truer of the English than of the contemporary French drama. Cf. at the last page cited the shrewd remark concerning the English made by Sorbière (1663): "Ils ne regardent qu'une partie après l'autre, sans se soucier du total."

⁶ "Hamlet and Iago," "Falstaff," cited above.

characters, before all is said and done, run the whole gamut of emotions. In the last scene, for instance, from the death of Desdemona to the moment when Othello is himself again—

I am not valiant neither—

there are hardly two or three speeches together in the same key, but his mood changes from solemn pity to wild grief or desperate regret, to anger when provoked by Emilia, to incoherent mourning when again he remembers his loss, then to mournful self-justification, then to the wrath of revenge.

A like range of emotion is to be found elsewhere in the play. It is a great stroke of theatrical art, no doubt, whereby his solemn nobler self is summoned up before us at the beginning of the murder scene, to plunge once more into jealous rage; but the last we had seen of him, a few minutes before, he was raging at his worst.¹ Since, however, it was in the interval that the change took place, it does not trouble us, as does the question how in the scene where, at the beginning and the end, he plays visitor at a brothel, he could manage to soar up to the ideal heights from which he laments the "wreck of his faith and love." A moment before he had what Desdemona calls a "horrible fancy" and "fury in his words," and now he gives voice to the anguish of his heart in the noble lines "Had it pleased Heaven" and the rest. Not that we ignore the difference between a play and a novel, or fail to remember that in the three hours' traffic of the stage there has always been, because of the need both of condensation and of stage effect, a far wider range of emotion than is probable in life. But in three centuries of approach to realism, or rather in three centuries of finer thinking and of search for a finer mode of expression to suit, that range has been narrowed, the boldness of modulation, or acuteness of contrast, has been subdued. And now dramatists preserve the mood and tone of a scene, just as they preserve, more scrupulously, the integrity of the character: and we must look to the "well-made" but tricky play of thirty or forty years ago for the same prestidigitation and kaleidoscopic change as here. Authors, like actors, then "made points," as the authors of the more popular stage do still, instead of presenting a character, from first to last.

☉ Quite Elizabethan, we have seen, is the art by which the free-souled Othello and Posthumus pass under the cloud of jealous fury and at the end shine forth again. They are like many other abruptly and unreasonably jealous characters in Beaumont and Fletcher and Massinger: but no one of these playwrights ever presented the situation with such poetic effect, as if a calm, beautiful theme which had appeared at the beginning of a tempestuous symphony were made to steal upon us again at the close. For the supreme

¹ V, i, 30-36. So in *Philaster*, III, ii, and IV, iii, the hero enters rid for the moment of the jealousy with which when last we saw him he was beset, in order to give us the thrill of his plunging into it once again, deeper than ever.

poet it is not enough that Posthumus or Othello should put off their jealousy like Philaster, as if it were a garment, but they must be clothed again in their former dignity and tenderness, though now deepened and saddened.

You gentle gods, give me but this I have,
And cere up my embracements from a next
With bonds of death . . .

cries Posthumus as he leaves his wife; and when in reconciliation he is received into her arms again, it is possibly not fanciful to think that Shakespeare's art (in these later days to be sure not so certain) strikes something of the same note, though chastened and subdued, as when, in the lines admired by Tennyson, he has his hero murmur:

Hang there like fruit, my soul,
Till the tree die!

But in the case of Othello there can be no question, and the final speeches of the hero recall the calm and grandeur of his speeches in the first act as clearly as Lohengrin's farewell to Elsa recalls the high unearthly melodies of his advent. Never was the dramatist a poet, an artist of artists, if not here. In the first act not a line of Othello's but is, as they say, "in tone," in harmony with

Keep up your bright swords or the dew will rust them,—

whether he is speaking to Iago alone, or to Cassio as he comes "with lights, officers, and torches," or to Brabantio, or later, in immortal oratory, to the Senate. Passion cannot shake him, or the dart of chance pierce him, and a light word and a smile are on the lips of the god. Of character he has no end—without much more psychology than there is in a painting of Titian's or a dramatic melody of Mozart's. Character appears in the notions expressed only as in the lineaments drawn,—in image, diction, rhythm, as in lines or colors or musical tones, without analysis or any concernment with mental processes or subtleties in themselves. The mental processes are simple and on the surface; the thoughts themselves are no discovery and revelation of truth; and all we can say is, that, under the master's touch, word and figure, not unlike clay or color, take form and start up into life.

And in the second act and the third, though the splendor of the apparition is now somewhat abated, he is the same, except for his hasty anger with Cassio, until the hour of his ordeal is come. His foreboding on the quay is such a foreboding as he might have had, if really he were to have one at all, and his courtesy and dignity continue to be unfailing. But at Iago's first questions, we have seen, his self-sufficiency collapses, at once he is excited, and then adieu Othello! indeed. Not that the poet is now less than a poet, or spoils the tone and harmony of the figure as he does its mental consistency or psychology. If Othello, for such cause, could really rage, no doubt he

would do it in this big and imaginative vein. Poetically he is still identical—"the Pontic Sea," "the error of the moon which comes more nearer earth than she was wont and makes men mad," "aspics' tongues," and the sibyl in her prophetic fury, are not ill in keeping with "these nine moons wasted" and "antres vast and deserts idle." And again and again in the midst of his sensual passion there are touches which recall his earlier self:

Nor from my own weak merits will I draw
The smallest fear or doubt of her revolt;
For she had eyes and chose me.

No, not much moved,—
I do not think but Desdemona's honest.
But there where I have garnered up my heart,
Where either I must live or bear no life . . .

O thou weed,
Who art so lovely fair and smell'st so sweet
That the sense aches at thee, would thou had'st ne'er been born.

Others are, when Desdemona first appears after Iago has tampered with his peace, and when Othello, light in hand, soliloquizes above her bed.

The change, when the old Othello comes back with all his dignity upon his head, though as yet without his calm, is at the moment when he says:

Nay, stare not, masters; it is true indeed . . .
and after that he does not leave us. But it is with line 243—

I am not valiant, neither,
But every puny whipster gets my sword.
But why should honour outlive honesty?
Let it go all . . .

that begins the solemn, poignant musical movement with which the tragedy sweeps to a close. Emilia speaks her dying words, and thereupon this theme—the sword-motive Wagnerians might call it—appears again.

I have another weapon in this chamber;
It was a sword of Spain, the icebrook's temper—
O, here it is. Uncle, I must come forth.

After an interval of challenging and parleying the motive appears once more—

Behold I have a weapon;
A better never did itself sustain
Upon a soldier's thigh. I have seen the day, etc.

in great amplitude and volume; but his pride—as of a paladin—in his weapon and in his glorious past lapses into a wail of misery, and the sword-motive, which had seemed to signify defiance, turns, by a hint, to the motive of suicide.

Here is my butt
And very sea-mark of my utmost sail.

But now there is a retardation and digression—his thoughts are diverted from the act to the horror, present and future, which impels him to it. Then come Iago's entrance, the wounding of him, and the wrenching of the sword away. Still the motive of suicide is uttered again, though darkly,

I'd have thee live;
For, in my sense, 'tis happiness to die.

But upon that ensues a longer digression. In tender words Othello and Cassio express their reconciliation, but Iago vows that from this time forth he never will speak word. "Well, thou dost best," says Othello, much the same spirit, amid his anguish, as he who, at the beginning, had replied to Iago's urgency, "'Tis better as it is." The disclosure of several details of the villainous conspiracy follows, and Othello's grief at his own folly grows. Then, when Lodovico, reminding him that Cassio rules in Cyprus, requires the general to leave the room and close prisoner rest, the main trend of thought, the theme of suicide, is, though under cover, in the last unforgettable speech, resumed:

Soft you; a word or two before you go.
I have done the state some service and they know 't.
No more of that, etc.

Again the motive of his pathetic pride in his glorious past, as it had appeared a few moments before, and, though without pathos, it had appeared in talking with Iago at the beginning, in the Senate Chamber, and on the quay at Cyprus; again the motive of his recent happiness, his present irremediable disaster. Suicide itself ends the speech, but in that there is for us no mere surprise or empty shock of horror. Over his brain memory holds sway, as with the dying: he looks backward, even as he looks forward to the memory that there will be of him. Though no one sees his dagger, his words breathe only of still desperation and farewell. But the point is that with delicate and various repetition and retardation of the theme, whether by the business of the sword, or hints of suicide, or reminiscences and anticipations in digression, the poet had made it apparent already that this was his "journey's end," his "utmost sail," and, as if it were in music, had prepared and reconciled our souls. And the chief point of all is that this whole final movement is an echo or reflux of that with which the play began.* For here in his misery is Othello again as first we knew and loved him—in his pride, in his tenderness, even in his calm—though now by passion shaken and by the dart of chance pierced.❧

All this, and the play as a whole, is a feat of the imagination merely and of a cunning pen. What great play is more? "If the poet makes use of philosophic ideas," says Croce truly, "he does so only that he may change

reason into imagination ;"¹ and that he can achieve only when the ideas are no longer new, are not wholly his own. Hence of psychology, with its searching analysis, its devious and subliminal processes, its "stunning" and forcing of thought—its fleeing from thought itself—its undertow and unconscious self-deceptions, he could give us nothing, even if he had had it to give.² Even Browning, who, three hundred years later, had it to give, could not always manage to impart it to his readers—to say nothing of an audience—because, of truth embodied in a character, and so presented indirectly, an artist can give us only what was fairly ours before.

Why then with Shakespeare should this interest in psychology, the subtle analysis of character and the revealing of recondite mental processes—science and learning in short—be any longer the chief of our critical diet, as it was in the Renaissance with Homer? How primitive and unsophisticated it is not to consider Shakespeare only as a dramatist and poet, not to be content with poetry and drama (as we are with mere music in Mozart, mere painting in Rembrandt) and that, too, the poetry and drama, not of Browning or Ibsen, but of his own simple and spacious days?

Maintenant il ne faut pas
Quitter la nature d'un pas ;

whereas Shakespeare often roamed many a league away from her, and was concerned, as Goethe says, only with the effect of the moment. But he is all that ever he promised to be—poet and dramatist from beginning to end. He may be concerned only with the effect of the moment in respect to the psychological consistency of his characters, but not always in respect to the poem or the play. We have traced the harmonious relation of the last scene to the first scenes, and in the last scene the fine gradation of effects, and repetition and interweaving of themes or motives, which almost reminds one of the *Master Builder*; and another fine gradation we might have traced in the five meetings of Othello with Desdemona after the temptation begins, the hero being in each more brutal and nearer murder than in the one before. We have traced in part, too, the poetic identity and unity of the characters, which is preserved to us despite default of analysis and reason. By the sheer potency of art Othello, Iago, Desdemona, and Emilia maintain, through all their incredible spiritual vicissitudes, their individual tone. And inconsistent, unpsychological though they be, their passions speak ever true. It is

¹ *Æsthetic*, English ed., p. 278.

² Of the mind flying off at a tangent or escaping from the impending thought I know no instance in Shakespeare, though others have found it in *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Julius Caesar* (see above, p. 37). Even Pinero in the *Second Mrs. Tanqueray* could make shift so to psychologize (as he lets Paula, in her blank despair, talk with Ardale about the flat they kept and the furniture in it) only by dint of a bit of exposition at the end. "What am I mauldering about?" she cries as she pulls herself together. How then could Shakespeare, even if he happened to carry all modern psychology *in petto*, dispense with a comment like that? If he knew anything it was how to express himself, and make his point in the unelusive language of the stage.

this poetic identity, this fine differentiation of tone, this concrete and intense reality of utterance, to be sure, which people have mistaken for psychology itself. But how much more reasonable and profitable it is to dwell on the great emotional speeches, the great emotional situations, which though they hang not so closely and intimately together,¹ and to reality, as in a modern play, yet give us (which is the chief thing) unfailing "faith in the emotions expressed." "With truer accents than in Othello," says Bulthaupt, who has been beforehand with us in recognizing the lack of motivation in the character, "pain cannot groan or stammer, weep or wail."² And the first real critic of Shakespeare will be he who by his learning, his imaginative sympathy, and a gift of expression not inferior to Hazlitt's or Lamb's, shall teach us to feel this, as he leads us back out of the modern world into the poet's, in something of the divine simplicity with which the poet once felt it himself.

Time and again by readers of my skeptical articles I have been asked, as if I had been trying to pluck away the solace and mainstay of their souls, What, then, do you leave us? In intention at least, I might reply, all that the poet and dramatist left us, which is immeasurably much. Of a portion of that heritage of poetry and dramatic art we have just feebly spoken, but what of the characters as characters? On that head the merely destructive critic may perhaps be permitted a word more.

In the place of psychology and its subtleties the poet had an infinite tact, the artist's delicate, flexible, plastic touch. "The Shakespearean delineation of character owes all its magic," says Mr. Shaw, "to the turn of the line which lets you into the secret of its utterer's mood and temperament, not by its commonplace meaning, but by some subtle exaltation, or stultification, or shyness, or delicacy, or hesitancy, or what not in the sound of it. In short, it is the score and not the libretto that keeps the work alive and fresh."³ It is mere art, as we have said, with which professors and critics, or the reading public for that matter, are not content; but, with all the psychology and enlightenment in their libretto, what, at last, have our modern dramatists, or, with none of it, the ancient, to keep their memory green, but art, but score?

Not that that is the whole of it, or that Shakespeare's art is mere style, mere rhetoric and music. He had the finest feeling for what belongs together—thought, image, sentiment, as well as phrase and rhythm to suit. We

¹ See my article "Anachronism" etc., and compare Mr. Galsworthy's remark in a recent article, "The New Spirit in the Drama," in the *Hubbert Journal* (1913) "Shakespeare's form was extraordinarily loose, wide, and plastic."

² *Op. cit.*, p. 223-4.

³ *Dramatic Opinions and Essays* (N. Y., 1906), i, p. 24.

have seen this to be the case, at the first and at the last, with Othello, and it is more or less the case with his other characters. This is not mainly, as has often been declared, the fruit of realism and observation—though that too as we shall see, he had not failed abundantly to gather;—it is in one sense something deeper and in another something not so deep, the plastic, differentiating principle in art. It is the *poet's* gift, not that of a seer but of a “maker.” It appears in the fairies and Caliban, for which there was no model, as clearly and happily as in the real men;—as in Falstaff and Iago, for instance, and that does not make it the more likely, of course, that the one was done from the life or that the other is fully within the limits of nature.¹ How delicately the dimensions of Titania's passions are reduced and drawn to scale—her resentment, her jealousy and affections—and the quality of her pleasures then fitted to these:

Full often hath she gossip'd by my side,
And sat with me on Neptune's yellow sands,
Marking the embarked traders on the flood,
When we have laughed to see the sails conceive
And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind.

And Caliban, a creature of the fancy (or, if that be too weak a word, of the imagination) but the nearest approach to *Kulturgeschichte* that Shakespeare ever made, is, in the varied earthiness of his pleasures and conceptions, and through all the range of his apparent contradictions—his lawlessness and his instinct to worship and obey, his affectionateness and his vindictiveness, his laziness, abusiveness, and murderousness, and his craving and ready gratitude for human comfort and protection—he is as much a character, of course, as Falstaff or Macbeth. His notions and his pleasures, his delight in nature and his fear of it, his taste for berries, pignuts, and (more than all) the “celestial liquors” of civilization, are as much in keeping as are the simple, primitive words in which he gives them voice. When he thinks of offspring he calls it “brave brood,” and when he begs his new master to do his killing for him, cries, “bite him to death,” or “batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake, or cut his weazand with thy knife.” Everything belongs together, in short, and the “monster” is no less than a character, not so much by dint of psychological analysis, or even of any mere realistic observation, as by virtue of that faculty which lends form to a statue, a picture, or even a song. It was art, the plastic touch, observation but not uncommon insight or knowledge, that gave him being and shape.

In Caliban's case, as in that of the fairies and the great company of his “human mortals,” the poet nowhere shows his feeling for harmony more finely or broadly than in the vein of humour which he bestows. As befits

¹ For the one see my article “Falstaff;” for the other, my articles “Criminals” and “Hamlet and Iago.”

beings so elemental Titania and Caliban alike laugh at what concerns sex, but Titania's laughter has all the delicacy of a sprite's and Caliban's all the grossness of a satyr's:

Oho, oho! would't had been done!

Even more, perhaps, the poet shows the sweep of his vision, or rather the sweep of his own emotions, or the sweep of the hand that strikes the strings, by introducing, without a dissonance, a note of humor into tragic rôles. Unlike the heroes of the classic stage, his laugh and jest; and Hamlet's irony and sarcasm are as much a part of his character as are his melancholy and indignation, and the Fool's gibes and babblings find a fit place amid the ravings of Lear. But this combination presupposes no psychology or penetrating knowledge of life. It was, with the discord unresolved, one of the time-honored traditions of his stage, and if Shakespeare had not taken it up and resolved it, he would simply have left one of his songs unsung, one of the quests to which on every hand he was summoned, unachieved. What it presupposes is only that preëminence which Dryden long ago adjudged to him, "the largest and most comprehensive soul."

Not deep the poet sees but wide,

averred the great critic who was still greater as a poet; and his words have particular truth when applied to our popular dramatic poet, "soul of the age" that he was.

Form was his chief gift, but knowledge of the world, not much otherwise than as Chaucer or the greatest of other dramatists knew it, came, of course, with this, hand in hand. He had the keenest of eyes for the types and individuals the world fashions. Enormous resources of observation stood at his beck and call to body forth, in either sex, in any of the three estates, all the seven ages of man, each of them invested with its particular "humour" or temperament. The dignity and pomp of kings and the simplicity and warped intelligence of clowns and boors, the bluntness of soldiers and the wiliness of villains, the buoyancy and innocence of youth and the quavering, maundering vehemence of age,—all this was the province which he took for his own, the inheritance to which he was born. Yet he was not called to present mere types like Jonson, or "paint the passions" in the eighteenth-century sense of the phrase, but to give an individual form and voice to each. Often he repeated himself; but neither Romeo nor Jaques is Hamlet, Falstaff is not Sir Toby, Valentine or Mercutio not Benedick. And this he has brought about, not, for the most part, by their ideas or opinions, still less by any newness or originality in these, least of all by anything individual in the processes of their thinking—save as the uncultivated flounder or go round in a ring—but above all by exhibiting, with exceeding deftness, their

traits and temper in the trick of their speech. Even in classical style they may argue, wrangle or declaim, curse, lament, or apostrophize, but for all that, in the rhythm, the accent or intonation, the choice of word or figure, there is often something, of which the classics never knew, which stamps them.

Idiosyncrasies, as Mr. Shaw has somewhere said, were Shakespeare's forte, and indeed all the Elizabethans—playwright, satirist, and character-writer alike—eagerly amassed material to delineate the "humours." But no one of them could manipulate it like Shakespeare, for no one ever felt so keenly the characterizing force (as regards profession, rank, culture, mood or temperament) of phrase, figure, or rhetorical arrangement, or the rhythm of verse or prose. The repetitions of Falstaff as he rolls a jest under his tongue are not the repetitions of Quickly, or of my lord Chief-Justice, or of the Danish Prince. And the poet has a differentiating sense even for shades of the same feeling at different moments in one's career. We have already seen this to be the case in the changing phases of Othello. Mercutio, wounded, is game to the last gasp, the same wit who had made merry over Romeo's sentiment, the same fighting-cock who had irritated Tybalt; but though he dies jesting, without a touch of sentiment or solemnity, he scolds a bit, and the mirth ebbs out of his words like the blood out of his veins. And Lear groping his way out of the darkness of his madness to the light—Cordelia, with her heart melting within her, over him—where shall we find the like among the ancients, the Spanish, or the French? Voltaire's Lusignan, as he emerges from his score of years in chains, is, in an instant, an orator and every inch a king. Our great Englishman, like many of his Elizabethan compeers, has a poetic—an English—regard for times, seasons, and circumstances, and for the commonplace and humdrum which intrude into life however high. Not only does he not shrink from introducing into his tragic text the word handkerchief, which Ducis classically translated *bandeau*, and Capulet's remark to the ladies about corns on their toes, which Pope, strangely picking and choosing, amended to "corns on their feet" (to say nothing of that abundance of concrete phrase, homely, vulgar or affected, with which he constantly illustrated character or recreated time and place), but he does not shrink from reminding us on the stage that there are moments when the hero himself must come down to earth, to humor (as we have seen) and to prose. He has the old Roman tyrannicides talk like men in the street about the weather and the season as the fateful day is breaking, apparently neither making allusion to the "glorious dawn of liberty" nor taking flight from the "impending thought;"¹

¹ To quote Coleridge on Hamlet. See above, pp. 37, 61. Taine is at this point far nearer the truth. "His heroes bow, ask people for news, speak of rain and fine weather, as often and as casually as ourselves on the very eve of falling into misery, or of plunging into fatal resolutions. Hamlet asks what's o'clock, finds the wind biting, talks of feasts and music heard without; and

and it would have been quite impossible for him to have a hero, after two days' absence, meet his betrothed with an oration of fifty lines from which all customary greetings or references to the separation were omitted.¹ In these breaches of "decorum" he observes, then, a higher decorum; even as the incursions and irruptions of comedy into tragedy are, in his best work, run together into a higher and ampler unity than is known to the classics, ancient or modern; or as the inconsistencies of Emilia's loyalty to her mistress and her readiness, "for the whole world," to forget her wedding vow, of Brutus's philosophic temperament and his impatience of interference from the jiggling fool, and of many another character like them, do not, like the irreconcilable, theatrical contradictions in Othello, break over the confines of art, since they do not break over the confines of humanity.²

this quiet talk, so little in harmony with action, so full of slight, insignificant facts, which chance alone has raised up, lasts until the moment when his father's ghost, rising in the darkness, reveals the assassination which it is his duty to revenge" (*Hist Eng Lit.*, Book II, ch. iv.) So far as the artist is concerned, to be sure, it is not chance alone that has raised these up, else they would find no place in art; but they are not to be credited to psychology. See above, p. 37, note. They are to be credited rather to Shakespeare's realization of character in all its homely and trivial details. Coriolanus, the oaken-garlanded hero, must, as Taine observes, "go wash" (I, ix, 67).

¹ See *Zaire*, I, ii.

² What contradictions in Shakespeare are owing to the irregularity of life and what only to the irregularity of his own thinking and writing are questions too big to be answered here. But I cannot refrain from observing that it is neither scientific nor sensible to recognize the one source and not the other. That is what the Shakespearean does. If you cavil at a contradiction he falls back—as always—upon life, of which his poet's every line must be the transcript. He does not realize that the position is a dangerous one, and that at bottom it implies that these plays are not the product of art at all. They are, then, the record of an oracle, the vision of a seer. And that to my mind is his ultimate opinion—that this greatest of dramatists, seeing life steadily and whole, was free to cast off the trammels of artistic method and classical logic, and introduce what matter he pleased. "Out of character," as applied to his work, is consequently a term without meaning. You may complain of Polonius, as I have done ("Falstaff," p. 94), to the effect that, sensible enough at first, he is, in the second act and afterward, indeed an "ass;" and your Shakespearean friend will answer, as mine has done: "He puts a degree of asininity into Polonius because he has seen a degree of asininity in old statesmen, generally sensible enough." And the critic has no notion that this is beside the mark. But surely our dramatist has inadvertently shifted ground, and has turned a serious character into a butt, to serve his purposes with Hamlet. If he were but seeing life whole, he would not thus have robbed his statesman of wit and wisdom for once and for all. The inconsistent character, says Aristotle, "must be consistently inconsistent." Our playwright is writing a play, meeting the needs of his plot, keeping dramatic functions (serious and comic) distinct, even though on occasion he changes them, and shall his vaunted liberty from the trammels of classical logic consist in lifting a character out of one scheme—only to thrust him into another?

Something the same is to be said, if we could stop to say it, of the contradictions in Falstaff, Shylock, and Cloten (see Pellissier, pp. 210-11). "Der Hinweis darauf, dass es ähnliche Widersprüche in der Wirklichkeit gebe" says Creizenach very justly (*IV*, p. 324), "kann in solchen Fällen zur Rechtfertigung des Dichters nicht genügen." Yet it must be added that on the following page the great scholar shows leanings toward the mystical, romantic point of view of Grilparzer—"dass wir bei Shakespeare an die Möglichkeit nicht denken weil die Wirklichkeit vor uns steht." And he even quotes Schlegel: "Wissen wir doch in unsern Bekannten, wenn sie einige Tiefe und Umfang des Charakters haben, nicht immer mit deutlichen Gründen darzuthun, warum sie sich jedesmal unter besondern Umständen so oder so benehmen, ohne dass wir darum an dem Bestande ihrer Persönlichkeit irre wurden." This now timeworn argument sounds a bit like that of the apologist for religion, who when you cannot accept his miracles and dogmas, reminds you that you cannot comprehend the law of gravitation or the flower in the crannied wall. But he

All this can be done without psychology—I mean the psychology of Ibsen as well as that of the schools—and with Shakespeare it is a matter of tact and touch and not at all of “your philosophy.” Of the unconscious self-deceptions or fleings from one’s thought or purpose, commonly imagined, he knows nothing; of these there was then quite nothing known and there is nothing in his text. Hamlet spares the King at prayer for the reason given.¹ When Othello cries “Not a jot, not a jot!” in answer to Iago’s remark “this hath a little dashed your spirits,” he either deceives himself as the angry man does when he says he is not angry, or else is too proud to confess the truth. “I’faith, I fear it has,” is Iago’s rejoinder, and his opinion, together with the unmistakable evidence of Othello’s speeches just before and after, makes it ours.² And as for subliminal processes, the nearest he or anyone else in Shakespeare comes to them is when Othello cries “Goats and monkeys!” on making his exit after striking his wife. It is an expression which possibly was meant to echo, almost mechanically, and sub-consciously, what Iago had said about the lovers being “as hot as goats, as prime as monkeys;” but since the lasciviousness of the two beasts was proverbial, the expression demands no such psychological interpretation, and, as used in his jealous rage, it was quite clear enough—and natural enough—taken by itself.

As the reader will have observed I have not been using the word psychology in the sense in which Mr. Archer has, for the purposes of criticism, distinguished it from character-drawing.³ I have used it in the sense of mental consistency or inconsistency, and of those tricks and capers, those self-deceptions, masked movements, and extravagant errings of the human spirit, on which we have already touched. But if Racine is a psychologist, Shakespeare is one too. He too is not limited to human nature in “its commonly recognized, understood and accepted aspects,” (if by that we mean nothing philosophical) but “brings hitherto unsurveyed tracts within the circle of our knowledge and comprehension.” He too “penetrates to underlying soul-states” (if by that we mean nothing scientific or sub-conscious); and let us by all means have Richard II for a piece of psychology if Falstaff and the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* are, with no discredit to them, to remain pieces of character-drawing. But if psychology is also to mean what in the

and Schlegel and the scores of critics who have quoted and echoed him must themselves be reminded that your friends uncomprehended differ from either an incredible doctrine or an unplausible work of art in that very material respect that these latter, *ipso facto*, correspond to no reality, have no claims upon our attention whatever.

¹ Cf. my article “Hamlet and Iago.”

² The self-deception, if such it be, is for the audience thus plainly marked and labeled as a point at which Othello’s own testimony is to be discounted. It is not like the self-deceptions discovered by critics in the soliloquies of Hamlet and Iago, of which the dramatist gives no hint.

³ *Playmaking*, p. 288-92.

passage from Mr. Archer, quoted above,¹ he appears also to make it mean, a distinction must be drawn. No one has more imaginative sympathy than Shakespeare; but he employs it by fits and starts, often neglects motivation and analysis, takes a leap as he passes from one "soul-state" to another, and, not content with the inconsistencies of life, falls into the contradictions of convention and artifice. As a whole, in the relation of Othello tempted to Othello untempted, the psychology of the hero is false, or might be said to be non-existent, just as it is non-existent in the whole convention of Iago's impenetrable hypocrisy and his bamboozling of all the cleverest people in the play. And yet, if illogical, irresponsible, fitful, but unflagging sympathy—the sympathy of the imagination—is the only test, Othello is as psychological a being as the hand of man has framed.

In any case, the characters are not the play. How long they have been be-essayed and lectured upon as if each stood in a dramatic monologue like one of Browning's, and a trait were to be found in every deed or syllable! And that is due to some lack of artistic sense in Anglo-Saxon and German criticism, which seeks in art meaning and reality more than form and beauty. The play—the whole—is really, if not mathematically, greater than the sum of its parts; it, above all, is what any great artist or dramatist tenders or considers; and if *Hamlet* or *Othello* is greater than any play of Molière or Sophocles it cannot in this respect be quite different. Neither are the characters, as is always being said or implied, the beginning and source of the plot. What they do, even what they say, is only in part their own doing or saying. "The *dramatis personae* do not undergo experiences in order to exhibit their characters," says Aristotle, "but it is because of what they are to go through that they are invested with characters."² If we are to trust the testimony of many dramatic authors his words are as true today—a situation, not a character, is the author's point of departure—but they are true in a profounder sense of the Greek and Elizabethan dramatists, who fitted improbable old stories for the stage, than of ours who contrive stories of their own. Yet with them it is not merely the borrowed plot which causes in the character trouble and confusion, but again and again, as we have seen, the exigencies of dramatic effect, the requirements (as men then saw them) of the whole. Many a time the crude old story, as in Belleforest's or Cintio's tales, is, we have said, reasonable and free of contradiction, as in *Hamlet* or *Othello* it is not.³ Indeed, all the problems in the character of Othello which we have been trying to solve have been those of the poet's

¹ P. 29, note 3

² *Poetics*, vi, 10, Margoliouth's translation.

³ I cannot undertake to give the evidence for this in the present study.

⁴ Scholars need no evidence for the truth of this statement. Rümelin, speaking of the "histories," goes so far as to say (p. 217). "Er weicht von seinen Quellen gewöhnlich nur darin ab, dass er sie in der Richtung des Phantastischen überbietet und ihre pragmatische Motivierung abschwächt." His improvements lay in compactness of structure, stage fitness, vigor and beauty (rather than clarity or reasonableness) of conception.

own making, though still more of the critics' making, as instead of bridging the gulf of time they have jumped it. Even in a modern play, however, in which the action is, by critics at least, supposed to rise and flow out of the characters alone, they are not to be taken out of the web of circumstance, and the fabric of convention and structure, any more than the figures are to be cut out of a painting. Out of the pattern or the plot, they have no existence nor ever had any. "Details" as we treasure them in carbon prints, galleries of poetic portraits extracted and exhibited by lecturer or essayist—how at the sight of them Raphael and Shakespeare would have smiled or shuddered! Indeed, to their psychological or anatomical truth or integrity violence had often been done by the artist himself, in his preoccupation with his effects, with pattern and design. And if really we love art, if we love the truth alone, then the picture the poet has painted must, as much as in us lies, be mirrored in our criticism even as we fondly think was his vast vision of life upon his canvas—steadily and whole. 0

ADDENDA

P. 25, *add to note 2, at the end*: Really, Desdemona is like Erastus in the old play *Soliman and Perseda* (1592), who unreasonably reckons his Perseda's love to be "lost" when he loses the chain she had given him; and Othello, for all that he is "wrought," is like Perseda, who, seeking no explanation, flies into a jealous rage when she sees her chain about the neck of Lucina, though this lady (like Cassio in his relation to Othello) has not been her rival in love. It is wholly a matter of goods lost and found again, but that simple and everyday matter is past these sensible people's finding out!

P. 67, *add to note carried over from p. 66, at the end*: But like the combination of comic with tragic elements, this presentation of a character half-hewn, with all the accidentals of human life clinging to it, was a tradition of his stage (cf., above, p. 65); and Shakespeare, again, did not so much discover life as take up and perfect an artistic method. In the mysteries and in the Elizabethan dramatists generally, heroes and potentates take their ease, and almost anybody is free to step over the confines of his rôle and joke or gossip.

DUP.



Jean Chapelain

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NUMBER 3

LES SENTIMENTS DE L'ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE SUR LE CID

EDITED
WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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PREFACE

The importance of *Les Sentiments de l'Académie Française sur la Tragédie du Cid* as a literary document has long been recognized. It practically determined in favor of classicism the direction which was to be followed for nearly two centuries by French literature, then wavering between the free romanticism of the Spanish and English literatures and an adherence to the severely classical systems derived from Aristotle and Horace and formulated by the Italians. As material for literary study, the Academy's work is available in several reprints of the original edition of 1638—one of 1678; another undated, but probably of 1693; and a third of 1701. All of these editions have become quite rare. Students of literary history and literary doctrines may consult more conveniently the reprints contained in the Marty-Laveaux edition of *Les Œuvres de Pierre Corneille* (Paris, 1862, volume XII, 463 ff.), or in the collection of documents relating to the quarrel of the Cid, published by Armand Gasté under the title, *La Querelle du Cid* (Paris, 1898, 355 ff.). But from the linguistic and especially from the stylistic standpoint, too little attention has been paid to this first published work of the French Academy.

In course of the deliberations which resulted in the founding of the French Academy, Chapelain declared that it should be the business of the projected institution to "labor in purifying the French language and in rendering it capable of the loftiest eloquence." Now it was Chapelain who wrote the first draft of the Academy's verdict upon the "question" of the Cid, and his manuscript, happily preserved with its multiple corrections and emendations, furnishes us the record of the processes which he, assisted no doubt to a certain extent by his colleagues, put in practice in order to render the style of the work: *plus digne de l'Académie*.

There has been but one previous attempt to make this record available to students of French language and style. In his *Thèse Complémentaire pour le Doctorat ès Lettres* of 1912, M. Georges Collas has given the final text of Chapelain's manuscript, with the variants of the earlier forms given, in conventional fashion, in the footnotes. This edition is unsatisfactory in that it does not confront with the manuscript form the final printed text, and because of the very large number of variants which make it difficult to follow the stylistic processes of its very academician author. The present edition seeks to obviate these objections by presenting the text of the original draft, of the successive revisions, and of the considerably differing editions, in such a way that the reader may be able to follow as readily as possible, step by step, phrase by phrase, often word by word, the evolution of this first published work of an institution which has done so much, not only to "purify" the language, but also to standardize and, one may say, to nationalize the taste of the French public and the literary style of French writers.

COLBERT SEARLS

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LES SENTIMENTS DE L'ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE SUR LE CID

INTRODUCTION

The presentation of Pierre Corneille's *Cid* (end of 1636) was followed by a literary quarrel which was due in part to personal considerations and in part to the keen rivalry existing between the two chief theaters of Paris. The poet's rival, Scudéry, in response to provocative allusions contained in Corneille's *Excuse à Ariste*, published his *Observations sur le Cid*¹ in which he sought to demolish the play by showing: 1. Que le Sujet ne vaut rien du tout; 2. Qu'il choque les principales regles du Poeme Dramatique; 3. Qu'il manque de jugement en sa conduite; 4. Qu'il a beaucoup de meschans vers; 5. Que presque tout ce qu'il a de beautez sont derrobees. Corneille replied by a *Lettre Apologitique*² in which he asserted that Scudéry was trying to impose on the simple minded by citing authorities whom he had never read, or had never understood and who, in any case, offered no basis for the conclusions regarding dramatic processes which his rival pretended to deduce from them. While each of the two parties found adherents to take up the cudgels in their defense, Scudéry contented himself personally with referring his case³ to the newly founded Academy, a procedure in which he was not imitated by Corneille.

The Academy, in spite of the account given by its first historian, Pellisson⁴, undertook to pass judgment in the matter without considering very carefully the possible consequences. Two committees were appointed: one, consisting of the Abbé de Cérisy, Gombauld, Baro, and l'Estoile, was to pass upon the verses; the other, consisting of Bourzeys, Chapelain, and Desmarests de Saint-Sorlin, was to examine Corneille's tragedy on the other charges of Scudéry's indictment. The committee on the verses made its report, which, after some discussion, was adopted and incorporated in the Academy's work.⁵

The task of the other committee was much more difficult. According to Pellisson (p. 90), Chapelain first presented his "mémoires" to the Academy,

¹ The following account is largely a résumé of results attained in my studies upon this subject, published in the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire*, avril-juin 1914, pp 331 ff. See also my paper published in the *Matske Memorial volume*, Stanford University, 1911, 156 ff.

² Published by A. Gasté in: *La Querelle du Cid*, Paris 1898, 71 ff.

³ A. Gasté, *Op. cit.* 147 ff.

⁴ A. Gasté, *Op. cit.*, 214 ff.

⁵ *Histoire de l'Académie Française*, Paris, 1858, I 87 ff; cf. my article, 353 ff.

⁶ See text, 83 ff.

and his two colleagues were enjoined to add their notes. However, they seem to have failed to do this and the upshot of the whole matter was that Chapelain wrote out the report and presented it to the Cardinal. The *Correspondance* of Chapelain confirms to a certain extent the account given by the Academy's historian. On the 13th of June he wrote to Balzac: Vous ne pourrés manquer au premier jour à souscrire l'arrest que le Corps doit prononcer là dessus, si tost que Corneille nous aura fait la mesme sousmission [que Scudéry], et ne croyés pas que je me moque: l'affaire est passée en procès ordinaire et moy qui vous parle en ay esté le rapporteur et en dois encore parler à la première séance.⁷ And on the 31st of July he writes to Boisrobert, the Cardinal's factotum, as follows: Je ne doute point que Monseigneur ayant daigné jeter les yeux sur cette esbauche du jugement que j'ai faite du Cid au nom de l'Académie, Son Eminence n'ait d'abord pénétré les raisons qui m'ont obligé de m'y prendre comme j'ay fait.⁸ While these passages substantiate in a way the "Relation" of Pellisson, they furnish grounds for suspicion that the appointment of the committee was an afterthought put into execution when it became evident that the intervention of the Academy in this quarrel was going to arouse opposition on the part of the public.

The Cardinal was not favorably impressed with Chapelain's effort. To judge from the letter to Boisrobert, cited above, Chapelain had received some communication from his Eminence, enjoining him to make the work: *plus digne de l'Académie*. While convinced that this "order" is: très judicieux, and one which: ne peut estre que très profitable, the academician maintains his ground with characteristic tenacity: encore que j'eusse eu plus de loisir et plus de capacité pour le rendre meilleur j'eusse tousjours conservé l'imagination qui me vint d'abord, que de tous les stiles il n'y avoit que le grave dont on se peust servir en cette occasion, laquelle, nous ayant rendu juges, me semble nous obliger à fuir, dans ce que l'on verroit de nous sur ce sujet, les mouvemens et les ornemens qui font toute l'éloquence de ceux qui attaquent ou qui défendent, et à conserver seulement la force du raisonnement et la netteté de l'expression, pour instruire plutost que pour plaire.⁹

These representations seem to have had some effect, for, according to Pellisson (p. 91), the Cardinal returned the manuscript with the remark that: la substance en étoit bonne mais qu'il falloit y jeter quelques poignées de fleurs; and this conforms with a remark contained in a letter of Chapelain to Balzac [August 22, 1637]: nostre Protecteur ayant vu *mon examen* n'en a guères trouvé que les matières bonnes, et a désiré que l'Académie l'embellist de fleurs.¹⁰

⁷ *Lettres de Jean Chapelain*, Paris, 1880, I. 156.

⁸ *Id.*, I. 159.

⁹ *Lettres*, I. 160.

¹⁰ *Lettres*, I. 165.

The work was then given to be polished, says Pellisson (p. 91), according to the Cardinal's "intention" and "by deliberation of the Academy" to a committee consisting of Serizay, Cérisy, Gombauld, and Sirmond. Cérisy, the same writer tells us, drew it up in writing, and Gombauld was commissioned to give it a final revision. Thereupon it was passed upon by the Academy in several sessions and then turned over to the printer. But when the Cardinal examined the first sheets sent him from the press he was again dissatisfied and ordered the printing stopped. The Academicians seem to have taken their instructions too literally: il [Richelieu] trouva, says Pellisson, qu'on avoit passé d'une extrémité à l'autre qu'on y avoit apporté trop d'ornemens et de fleurs.

This whole episode is quite obscure. The fact that some interruption in the printing occurred is established by a letter which Boisrobert wrote to Mairet at the Cardinal's instigation, on the fifth of October, 1637, at least two months before the work finally appeared. In this letter Boisrobert announced: Vous verrez un de ces jours son *Cid* assez mal mené par les sentimens de l'Académie; l'impression en est déjà bien avancée, et si vous ne venez à Paris dans ce mois, je vous l'enverrai.¹¹ At the same time it is probable that Pellisson colored his account somewhat in order to make it as favorable as possible for his friends, and at the Cardinal's expense. What really happened was probably something like this.

When the manuscript came back to the Academy after the Cardinal's first examination with instructions regarding its embellishment, a division of labor was effected. The work consisted of three distinct parts, a preamble, the critique, and the conclusion. Now Chapelain's representations in favor of *le stile grave* had carried weight, moreover he was recognized at that time as the leading critic in France; therefore he retained the critical part of the work and continued his labors upon it. But the introduction, being the part most susceptible of ornamentation, was given over to the Abbé de Cérisy, the Academy's most pronounced *bel esprit*. That the Abbé de Cérisy should have overdone his embellishing was quite to be expected. To be convinced of it one has only to glance through the Abbé's nine hundred-page *Vie du Cardinal de Berulle* (1647); a work, which, according to Tallemant des Réaux, contributed not a little to the merriment of his contemporaries: M. de Grasse [Godeau] disoit que c'estoit une vie écrite par epigrammes, tant il y avoit de traits; Patru disoit qu'il y avoit cinq ou six cens testes à cet ouvrage . . . Le bon abbé avoit plus d'esprit que de judgement.¹² It was when the printing was interrupted that Gombauld, for whom Richelieu al-

¹¹ A. Gasté, *Op. cit.* 353.

¹² *Historiettes*, Paris, 1862, V, 199 f. Even R. Kerviler, who is inclined to put a high estimate on Cérisy's independence (?) in this conjuncture, admits: Sa prose était en effet hachée et lizaire. *Le Chancelier Pierre Séguier*, Paris, 1874, 503.

ways showed a great respect,¹³ was called to the rescue. A strong piece of confirmatory, though indirect, evidence is found in a letter, hitherto overlooked in this connection, written by Gombauld to Boisrobert, in response evidently to some urgent request for his services in this work of the Academy. The letter is undated, but an expression which it contains enables us to ascribe it to this period. It will be remembered that Gombauld had first been appointed to the committee which examined and reported upon the verses. Now Gombauld, in his letter, makes the following protest which would be very apropos in October but much less so in July when Pellisson assigns him to this second committee: Je confesse que c'est mal-gré moy-mesme que je *fus* obligé d'y travailler durant les jours les plus ardens, & qui du moins ostent la santé à ceux à qui ils n'ostent pas la vie.¹⁴ Whether these conjectures are correct or not in their extreme conclusions, it is certain that Cérisy and Gombauld were active to some extent along the lines indicated, for Chapelain wrote to Balzac about a month after the *Sentiments* had appeared in print: Je ne suis pas marri que les *Sentimens de l'Académie* ne vous ayent pas dépleu puisque je suis contraint de vous avouer que j'y ay la plus grande part au grand détriment de mes plus grandes affaires. Mais afin de ne desrober pas l'honneur à qui il appartient, il est à propos que vous sçachiés que *MM. de Cérisy et de Gombault ont contribué aussy aux fleurs et aux ornemens de cette pièce*. At all events, our contention, that the Academy's action after the first examination of the Cardinal, was limited to a mere division of the labor of revising, is clearly established by another letter written nearly a month later to the same correspondent: Pour les *Sentimens de l'Académie*, si vous y estimés autre chose que l'exorde et la péroration,¹⁵ je n'en seray pas marry puisqu'ils sont tous de moy, et que c'est ce qui me semble le plus solide, et quand vous ne feriés cas que de ces deux parties, je ne laisserois pas d'en estre bien aise, puisque de celles-là mesme toute la contexture, toute l'idée et tout le raisonnement sont de mon creu et qu'une bonne partie des pensées et de l'expression m'appartiennent.¹⁶

However the Cardinal's attention, on the occasion of this second examination of the Academy's work, was not wholly taken up with the embellishments. The manuscript will furnish proof that the four marginal notes in his own hand were written at this time and are all to be found in that part of the work for which Chapelain stood sponsor, and which he considered the most "solid" part of the work. Pellisson (p. 92) even asserts that the Car-

¹³ Tallemant des Réaux, *op. cit.* I. 438.

¹⁴ *Lettres de M. de Gombauld*, Paris, 1647, 309. To judge from the conclusion of the letter, Gombauld was quite in accord with Chapelain, as to the form most appropriate for this work of the Academy; in which: il est souvent plus besoin d'employer les termes de l'Escolle, que ceux de la vraie Eloquence.

¹⁵ Concerning the conclusion (péroration) see below, p. 10.

¹⁶ *Lettres*, I. 193 and 203. The letters are dated the 25th of January and the 21st of February respectively, 1638.

dinal went so far as to delegate the task of the final revision to Sirmond, who in his turn failed to satisfy the exacting patron of the "Immortals." But that this was any more than a passing suggestion to Sirmond, who seems to have been present for another matter, that he might try his hand at the task, is highly improbable.¹⁷ All the evidence seems to warrant the conclusion that conferences were held, that a more definite understanding was reached, that a final careful revision was made by Chapelain, assisted somewhat by Gombauld and Cérisy, that a clean copy was prepared, and that the *Sentiments de l'Académie Française sur le Cid* were finally printed in their final form early in December, 1637.

CHAPELAIN'S MANUSCRIPT

Chapelain's manuscript passed early into the possession of the Bibliothèque Impériale and listed under Y5666 of *Les Belles Lettres* in volume I. of the catalogue of 1750. In 1861 it was removed from the Département des Imprimés to the Département des Manuscrits, No. 5541, Supplément Français. At present it is to be consulted in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, Réserve 15045. It is a little in-quarto, in excellent condition, tastefully and solidly bound. It contains the preamble, the critique and the conclusion which is preceded by a paragraph relating to Scudéry's charge of plagiarism.

The body of the manuscript is unmistakably in the hand of Chapelain, not only for the original draft but also for all the variants with the exception of a score or so of minor changes in a hand which I have been unable to identify. These minor variants are all found between pages thirty-five and fifty-eight, in the most important part of the work, the critique.¹⁸ With few exceptions they were adopted in the printed form of the *Sentiments*. The longest occurs on page forty-four (plate I). But the most interesting trace of this unknown writer is found on the margin of page forty-eight. The *Sentiments* are here discussing, and condemning, the failure of the king to take proper measures for the protection of Seville. Scudéry pointed out that the king's orders in this regard had not been obeyed. To this Chapelain objected that good orders are so frequently disobeyed that disobedience in this case might be considered fairly probable. He adds: *Toutesfois ce n'est pas par cette raison que le Poete se peut defendre, la veritable estant que le Roy n'avoit point donné d'ordre pour resister aux Mores (comme il en avoit eu intention), de peur de mettre la ville en trop grande alarme*. Now opposite this sentence, one reads this observation in the unknown hand: *L'avis malseur on a veu leurs vaisseaux*. These two expressions refer to verses

¹⁷ For arguments see my study cited above, 367 ff.

¹⁸ One or more examples occur on each of the following pages: 35, 37, 38, 40, 42-44, 47, 48, 52, 54, 58.

607 and 628 of the *Cid* and were probably designed to suggest a criticism which might have been made, namely: the king's remark: *Foris étant mal sûr*, is inconsistent with what he had said twenty verses before: *on a vu dis cassoiseurs De nos vieux ennemis arborer les drapeaux*. This suggestion, however, was not followed and it seems to have had no influence upon the wording of this particular passage. But the presence of it in the margin implies an interested party whose identity we should like to know.

The only other contemporary handwriting in the manuscript comes from the pens of Richelieu and his secretary Citois in the form of seven marginal notes. Three of these notes are in the hand of the secretary and occur on pages five, twenty-nine and thirty (plate II). The first concerns a reference made by Chapelain to the disputes which arose in Italy on the subject of the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini and the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso, with a reflection on the advantages to be derived from literary discussions. The note reads: *L'applaudissement et le blâme du Cid n'est qu'entre les doctes et les ignorans, au lieu que les autres deux pieces ont esté entre les gens d'esprit*. Pellisson remarked (p. 90) that this note "shows that he [Richelieu] was convinced" that Corneille's work "sinned against the rules." This interpretation has been accepted generally, and the circumstance cited, as a proof of the Cardinal's unfavorable attitude against the poet of the *Cid*. But what ground is there for such an interpretation? The note can hardly be construed as anything more than an observation, let fall in passing, upon the quarrel of the *Cid* rather than upon the *Cid* itself. And, moreover, the observation was fully justified by the tone of certain participants in the quarrel who sought to make merry over the "unfailing snivel," which was said to "distil" from the "alambic" of the poet's nose, and who threatened the poet with personal violence if he ventured to show himself in Paris.¹⁹ That Richelieu was concerned with this phase of the quarrel is evidenced by the above cited letter, written at his instigation by Boisrobert to Mairet: *quand elle [son Eminence] a reconnu que de ces contestations naissoient enfin des injures, des outrages, et des menaces. Il a pris aussi-tôt résolution d'en arrêter le cours.*²⁰

The second note penned by the secretary is more interesting, in that it offers sure proof, that these three notes in the hand of Citois were added at the time of Richelieu's first examination of Chapelain's "sketch" (*ébauche*). The propriety of representing Rodrigue more intent upon avenging his father's death than zealous in winning his mistress, is being discussed. Chapelain's first draft read: *Il ne luy suffit pas de vouloir vaincre le Conte pour reparer l'affront de sa Race, il le veut encore tuer, bien que sa mort ne fust pas nécessaire pour sa satisfaction*. The marginal

¹⁹ A. Gasté, *op. cit.*, 345 ff.

²⁰ A. Gasté, *op. cit.* 353. For effect of this marginal note upon the passage concerned, see text, page 18.

note queries: Faut voir si la piece le dit; car si cela n'est point on auroit tort de faire croire à Rodrigue qu'il voulust tuer le Conte, puisqu'on fait souvent en telles occasions ce qu'on ne veut pas faire. In the revision which followed the Cardinal's examination, Chapelain introduces from verse 275 of the *Cid*, the phrase "Meurs ou tue," in order to justify what he had written. In the final revision after the Cardinal's second examination, this citation is cancelled.

The facsimile itself is a sufficient commentary on the third and last marginal note in the hand of Citois: Bon mais se pouvoit mieux exprimer. The chief interest of these notes consists less in what they contain than in what they suggest of the Cardinal's attitude at this time. Taken as they stand, inconsequential remarks jotted down by a secretary, they give very little evidence of that literary jealousy, of that persecution of the *Cid* and of that tyranny over the Academy that has become almost proverbial.

But as opposition developed and as in consequence the timidity of the academicians increased, the Cardinal's interest increased and his domination within the Academy became more pronounced.²¹ This is graphically represented by the fact that the other four marginal notes (plate III) are in his own hand. They are short and direct: Il faut un exemple; Il faut un temperament; Il ne faut point dire cela si absolument; Il faut adoucir cette expression. All four relate to passages contained in the critique. Chapelain was able to satisfy these categoric imperatives in the interlinears with little trouble except for the first: Il faut un exemple. Chapelain discussed here the species of verisimilitude required in poetry. It will be recalled that the Cardinal examined the Academy's judgment for the second time in October, and it was at that time doubtless that he wrote these: *Il faut's*. Now there is a manuscript letter of Chapelain to Boisrobert dated the fifth of November which seems very clearly to relate to this passage. Monsieur:—Tout ce qu'il a plu à Son Eminence de faire escrire sur le sujet du Merveilleux est digne d'Elle en solidité et en clarté, et s'il eust esté en cet endroit question principalement de traiter de cette matiere, il eust fallu suyvre de point en point son intention et ses termes. Mais Elle se souviendra, s'il luy plaist, qu'il s'y agit seulement du vraysemblable et qu'il n'y est parlé du Merveilleux que par occasion, de sorte qu'on ne pourroit estendre la doctrine qui le regarde sans s'eloigner l'esprit de son principal objet, aquel l'ordre méthodique veut qu'il demeure attaché. C'est pourquoy avec tout le respect que je dois et sans amour pour mes imaginations, je vous diray que mon sentiment seroit qu'on laissast tout ce j'avois dit du Merveilleux, et je croy que la doctrine du vraysemblable en paroistroit plus nette. Mandes moy, s'il vous plaist, la volonté de son Eminence afin que je la suyve de point en point, et que j'essaye de la satisfaire, si elle continue dans le dessein que

²¹ Cf. my article cited above, p. 349 ff.

l'on traite icy du Merveilleux. Vous scavés ma deference absolue, et le vœu d'obeissance aveugle que j'ay fait pour tout ce qui vient de sa part.²² The demand of his Eminence was not productive of any results as far as the manuscript is concerned, but in the printed form of the *Sentiments* one finds at this very point (see text, p. 28) the story of Hecuba who, having gone to the seashore to wash the body of her dead daughter, sees at the same time the corpse of her son cast upon the shore by the waves, and introduced as an example of the *extraordinaire et merveilleux*. It is very probable that Chapelain, "le circonspectissime" finally concluded that it would be wiser to incorporate in the final copy of the *Sentiments* this little tidbit of: ce qu'il a pleu à Son Eminence de faire escrire sur le sujet du Merveilleux.

These seven marginal notes due to the care of Richelieu are, with the possible exception of the first, wholly stylistic. There is nothing in them to indicate that he was seeking a condemnation of a poet in whom, it is often said, he absurdly saw a dangerous literary rival. His most evident care was that the work which had been undertaken should be, according to the phrase quoted by Chapelain, *plus digne de l'Académie*. It was a question of style. His conception in this regard is revealed in the prefatory *Discours* to the *Amour Tyrannique* (Scudéry, 1639) written by Sarrasin, avowedly under Richelieu's direction, and addressed to the Academy. Il me suffira de traiter cette matière avec la simplicité et l'ordre qui sont nécessaires au stile dogmatique. Toutesfois, d'autant que ce stile est d'ordinaire espineux, et que l'ordre tout simple est sec et stérile, ce ne sera sans temperer en quelques lieux cette dureté et cette sécheresse et sans donner quelque chose au volupté de l'esprit.

The preamble occupies eight and one-half pages in Chapelain's manuscript. It is distinguished from all the rest by its lack of manuscript corrections or changes.²³ The accompanying facsimile (plate IV) may be taken as quite representative of this whole portion of Chapelain's "sketch." All the pages contain, like this one, frequent underscorings and occasional lines and crosses in the margins. I have been unable to discover any constant relation between these markings and the subsequent changes which it underwent.

The Critique begins at the middle of page nine and extends to the middle of page fifty-eight. The statements made above (p. 3), that Chapelain continued in charge of this portion of the work throughout the whole period of the Academy's intervention in the affair, is graphically represented in the facsimile offered by plate V. The changes made in the interlinears and at the bottom of the page are products of the first revision; the rewriting of

²² Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, Nouvelles Acquisitions, No 1885, fol 220.

²³ Only two unimportant verbal changes. This absence of changes confirms the position taken above (p. 3), that when the manuscript was returned after the Cardinal's first examination, a division of labor was effected.

the whole passage, in the right hand margin, is the result of the second revision, made after the Cardinal's intervention and re-examination of October (p. 3). Similar evidences of this two-fold revision are numerous. However, except in cases like the above, it is frequently impossible to determine whether a given variant is the result of the first or second revision. On the other hand there are a number of passages which have evidently been retouched as many as three or four times. For example, in the accompanying facsimile (plate VI), there is no way of determining whether the considerable marginal change which appears about the middle of the page is a result of the first or second reworking. The passage at the bottom has been reworded at least four times, although that does not mean of course that the whole passage went through that many revisions. Two or three rewordings may very well have been made at a single sitting. These cases are entirely representative of the processes through which this whole portion of Chapelain's manuscript passed.

Next to the pages containing the marginal notes, due to the Cardinal, the most interesting page is shown in the accompanying plate VII. The paragraph, nearly all of which is contained in our facsimile, begins as follows: *En suite l'Observateur describe la cause principale qui l'a engagé à cette censure du Cid. Au moins le jugeons nous ainsy non seulement par les aigreurs et les railleries dont il a semé son ouvrage mais encore par ce qu'il dit vers la fin que la reputation commune de ceux qui font des vers lui a mis les armes à la main pour la proteger, etc.* It will be noted that this passage is, in sum, a justification of Scudéry and a censure of Corneille. Now it is evident from the lack of manuscript variants and the very determined way in which it is crossed out that this passage was cancelled at the very beginning; that is, at the time when it was returned to its author after the Cardinal's first examination. It was then removed by his counsel, or at least with his consent, since it was never restored in any form. And that is another bit of evidence that Richelieu was more concerned with the academic side of the work than with venting his spite upon a poet of whom he was jealous.²⁴

The Critique comes to an end in the middle of page fifty-eight. The first three counts of Scudéry's indictment against the *Cid* (see p. 1) having been argued, provision is made for the fourth (plate VIII): *Icy entrera l'examen des vers*, corresponding to: *Qu'il [le Cid] a beaucoup de meschans vers*. This is followed by a brief but much belabored paragraph on Scudéry's last charge: *Que presque tout ce qu'il [le Cid] a de beautez sont derrobées*. This following of Scudéry's sequence of charges suggests that in the begin-

²⁴ Compare with the procedure here the treatment of the passage near the end of the introduction where Chapelain declared: nous sommes obliges de dire que le *Cid* est une Piece moins accomplie qu'elle n'a esté communement jugée, et que . . . l'Observateur n'a pas eu tort en toutes les choses qu'il y a condamnées. A glance at the parallel edition given below (p. 21) shows how considerably this passage was diluted and made less offensive after the first draft.

ning. Chapelain and his colleagues considered themselves more directly concerned with the criticisms of Scudéry than with the *Cid* itself. And this impression is strengthened by the title which Chapelain first gave the work: *Les Sentimens de l'Académie Française touchant les Observations faites sur la Tragi-comédie du Cid*. In following out this intention, if intention it was, the Academy would have satisfied the article inserted in its statutes through action of the Parlement de Paris when these statutes were ratified; viz., *L'Académie ne pourra connoître que de la langue françoise, et des livres qu'elle aura faits, ou qu'on exposera à son jugement* (Pellisson, p. 47). But, in that case, why did the attack shift to the *Cid*? Was it because the Academy simply followed the general drift of the *Quarrel of the Cid*? Was it because a judgment on the *Cid* seemed to the Academy's patron to be a work: *plus digne de l'Académie* than a judgment on a criticism of the *Cid*, or, as one of Corneille's partisans put it, *entre le Cid et un Libelle*²⁵? This would account possibly for the removal of the passage which discusses personally the Scudéry versus Corneille controversy (see above, p. 9). It would account for the little importance which Chapelain seemed to attach to Corneille's "submission" to the Academy, as manifested in the letter cited above (p. 2) and to the growing pressure put upon him to give his consent. It would explain, too, the constantly growing repugnance on the part of some members of the Academy (Chapelain, Gombauld) to an assumption of the task of judging a work so popular as the *Cid*.²⁶ These are merely conjectures to which objections will not be lacking.

The accompanying facsimile (plate IX) is quite representative of the manuscript appearance of the last portion of Chapelain's "sketch" of the Academy's judgment on the *Cid*. It is evident that this part, the conclusion (la *péroration*), has undergone but one revision. The reason for this is not at all clear. One is tempted to connect it with the animated scene which is said to have taken place some time after the Cardinal's second examination of the Academy's work. On this occasion, says Pellisson (p. 92) il [Chapelain] le [Richelieu] vit s'échauffer et se mettre en action, jusque-là que s'adressant à lui, il le prit et le retint tout un temps par ses glands, comme on fait sans y penser, quand on veut parler fortement à quelqu'un et le convaincre de quelque chose. The Academy's historian gives no hint of what the Cardinal was pleading for: did he want the *péroration* embellished? An examination of our parallel edition of the manuscript and the printed text will lend some weight to that assumption. In that case we should be inclined to connect this occurrence with a letter which Chapelain wrote to Bourzeys on the nineteenth of November, 1637. Dans la passion que j'avois d'entendre l'action que vous me distes, il ne me souvenoit pas qu'un

²⁵ A. Gaste, *op. cit.* 325.

²⁶ For a development of these points see my article, p. 353 f; and p. 356 ff.

moment devant M. l'abbé de Serisy [Cérisy] avoit tiré parole de moy que ce mesme jour et à l'heure mesme j'irois ches luy pour travailler conjointement avec luy et Mr. Desmarests à ce que la Compagnie avoit résolu *que l'on diroit à la louange des beaux endroits du Cid*" Was this conference of these three important academicians held for the purpose of revising this important portion of the Academy's work according to the wishes of its patron; or was it merely to prepare the copy for the printer? In view of the date of the letter, the latter supposition seems rather more probable.

Such are the principal features of Chapelain's manuscript of the *Sentiments de l'Académie Française sur la Trag-comédie du Cid*. Although it was not the copy from which the work was printed, comparison with the printed text will confirm Chapelain's assertion that "the whole idea" and "all the reasoning" are to be placed to his credit. The corrections,—Richelieu's marginal notes even,—indicate that the work was undertaken in good faith and completed with an academic integrity becoming to an institution which proposed, says the Abbé d'Olivet, to: Porter notre langue à sa perfection, et nous épurer le goût, soit pour l'éloquence, soit pour la poésie. The plates which follow graphically reflect: un des moyens dont les Académiciens serviroient pour parvenir à la perfection; l'examen et la correction de leurs propres ouvrages, . . . on examineroit sérieusement le sujet et la manière de la traiter, les arguments, le style, le nombre et chaque mot en particulier. These pages are among the earliest of those pen-scarred fields upon which succeeding generations of French writers have struggled to gain a mastery of an at least technically perfect form of literary expression.

²¹ *Lettres*, I. p. 172.

LIST OF PLATES

- Plate I. The unidentified hand.
- Plate II. The marginal notes from the pen of Richelieu's secretary, Citois.
- Plate III. The marginal notes from the pen of Richelieu himself.
- Plate IV. The first page of Chapelain's Manuscript.
- Plate V. The beginning of the Critique.
- Plate VI. A characteristic page of Chapelain's manuscript.
- Plate VII. A discarded page of the manuscript containing a censure of Corneille's vanity.
- Plate VIII. The end of the Critique. Provision for the insertion of the Remarques sur les Vers. The paragraph dealing with Corneille's alleged larcenies from Guillen de Castro.
- Plate IX. The first page of the Conclusion.







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LES SEXTIMENS DE
L'ACADEMIE FRANCOISE,
TOURNAI
DES OBSERVATIONS FAITES

^{SUR}
La Question de
La Tragédie du CDD

Ceux qui abandonnent leurs ouvrages
au Public ne doivent pas trouver étrange
que ce Public s'en face le juge. Ils perdent
tout le droit qu'ils y ont autre fois qu'ils
l'exposent à la lumière, ou ils n'en conser-
vent au plus qu'autant qu'ils en ont besoin
pour les reformer lorsqu'ils y reconnoissent
des fautes. La réputation n'en dépend plus
de leur suffrage. Ils la doivent attendre
des autres, et n'estimer leurs travaux bons
ou mauvais que selon le jugement qu'ils
en verront faire. Or bien qu'il y ait plus
de bonté à louer ce qui est digne de louan-
ge, qu'à reprendre ce qui est digne de repren-
sion, il n'y a pas toutefois moins de justice
enfin qu'en l'autre; pourveu qu'il paroisse
que celui qui reprend y est porté par un zèle
du bien commun plutôt que par malignité.









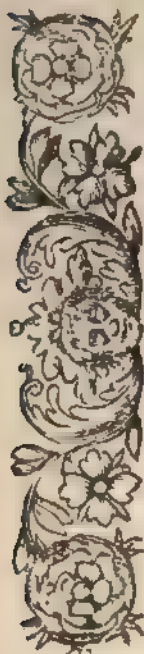
tager contre l'usurpation de la Tuon de la Poë-
na. En effet si nous parvint que parant an-
tre les premiers de cette profession il n'a peu
s'offrir que cette Poëse ait eu tant d'applau-
dissement sans essayer de montrer que cette
approbation extraordinaire n'estoit pas plus
juste pour estre presque generale. En quoy bien
que nous eussions donné qu'il estoit monté
plus de modestie, nous l'en trouvons toutes-
fois d'autant moins blamable, que ses observa-
tions ne sont pas toujours mal fondées, et
qu'il n'est pas besoin qu'il l'eust essayé
aymé pour les lui communiquer avant que
de mettre son ouvrage sous la presse. Nous
l'en trouvons encore d'autant moins blamable
qu'il n'estoit pas hors de propos que la vanité à
laquelle. Le Poëte seroit laissé emporté fust on
peu mortifiée, et qu'ayant été peu modestement
de sa bonne fortune il se ^{ren}contrast quelqu'un as-
sez intéressé à son ^{abaissement} humiliation pour ne le lui
pardonner pas de s'être si fort élevé au des-
sus des autres. En fin nous trouvons que cet
insulte bien que fait en colere et en desordre
n'est pas ~~entièrement~~ inutile, et qu'il pourra
au moins servir de frein à ceux qui se laissent
aller trop facilement aux flatteries de l'amour
propre, et qui sont trop enclins à se flatter de
leurs bons succès.







LES SENTIMENTS



LES SENTIMENS DE
L'ACADEMIE FRANCOISE,

LES SENTIMENS

DE

L'ACADEMIE
FRANCOISE

SVR

LA TRAGI-COMEDIE
DV CID.

~~TOURNAI~~

LES OBSERVATIONS FAITES

^{SVR}
La Question de
La Tragicomédie du CID

Ceux qui abandonnent leurs ouvrages
au Public ne doivent pas troubler étranger
que le Public s'en face le juge. Ils perdent
tout le droit qu'ils ont sur tout qu'ils
l'exposent à la lumière, ou ils n'en conser-
vent au plus qu'autant qu'ils en ont lors

Evx qui par quel-
que desir de gloire
donnent leurs Ou-
vrages au Public ne



1. These facsimiles reproduce the headings of the first page of the manuscript and of the first edition of the Academy's work.

PREAMBLE

The introductory portion of the Sentiments, or the Preamble, is presented in two columns, of which the first, A, represents Chapelain's original draft, and E, the text of the first edition. Dotted lines indicate literal conformity. Where the thought is similar, but differently expressed in the two versions, the columns run parallel. Where nothing is found in one version corresponding to what is contained in the other, this fact is indicated by a blank space in the parallel column. Italicizing in the A column is equivalent to underlining in the manuscript.

A	E
<p>Ceux qui abandonnent leurs ouvrages au Public ne doivent pas trouver estrange <i>que le Public</i> s'en face le Juge. Ils perdent tout le droit qu'ils y ont aussi tost qu'ils l'exposent à la lumiere, ou ils n'en conservent au plus qu'autant qu'ils en ont besoin pour les reformer lorsqu'ils y reconnoistrent des fautes. <i>La reputation</i> n'en depend plus de leur suffrage <i>Ils la doivent attendre</i> des autres, et n'estimer leurs travaux bons ou mauvais que selon le jugement qu'ils en verront faire.</p>	<p>Ceux qui par quelque desir de gloire donnent leurs Ouvrages Comme le present qu'ils luy font ne procede pas d'une volonteé tout à fait des-interessée, et qu'il n'est pas tant un effect de leur liberalité que de leur ambition, il n'est pas aussi de ceux que la bien-seance veut qu'on recoive sans en considerer le prix. Puis qu'ils font une espece de commerce de leur travail, il est bien raisonnable que celui auquel ils l'exposent ait la liberteé de le prendre ou de le rebuter selon qu'il le reconnoist bon ou mauvais. Ils ne peuvent avec justice desirer de luy qu'il face mesme estime des fausses beautés que des vrayes, ny qu'il paye de loüange ce qui sera digne de blasme. Ce n'est pas qu'il ne paroisse plus louer ce qui est bon qu'à est mauvais, mais il n'y a pas moins l'autre. On peut mesme meriter de la loüange en donnant du blasme, pourveu que les reprehensions partent du zele de l'utilité commune, et qu'on ne pretende pas eslever sa reputation sur les ruines de celle d'autrui. Il deffaux d'un Auteur ne soient pas des reproches de sa foiblesse, mais des avis semens qui luy donnent de nouvelles forces, et que si l'on coupe quelques branches de ses lauriers ce ne soit que pour les faire pousser davantage en une autre saison.³ Si la Censure demeure</p>

³ One of the *Œuvres* of l'Abbé de Cénisy?

³ Opposite the line: *en verront* . . . *ait plus*, a short, horizontal line in the margin.

A

tion on *pourroit* peut estre dire que la Censure ne seroit pas moins utile dans la Republique des lettres, qu'elle le fut autrefois dans celle de Rome, et que supposant dans les Censeurs des livres une intégrité pareille à celle des anciens Catons, il se feroit dans la première des progres aussy glorieux qu'en a fait la Seconde au temps que cette Magistrature y exeroit une espece de Souveraineté.⁴ Car il s'observe, par je ne scay quel destin qui accompagne les actions humaines, que la louange est d'un moindre pouvoir pour nous faire avancer dans le chemin de la Vertu, que le blâme pour nous retirer de celui du Vice, et qu'il y a force gens qui ne se laissent point emporter à l'ambition, mais qu'il y en a peu qui se résolvent à se laisser couvrir d'infamie. En effect la louange, quoy que juste, a cela de mauvais qu'ordinairement elle tire l'homme de la modération qui est si nécessaire pour la société, et qu'elle l'arreste au milieu de sa course comme si desja *il avoit touché le but*.

Au contraire le *blâme* qui demeure dans les termes de la Justice luy fait *souvenir* de l'infirmité de sa nature, le rappelle en luy-mesme, et luy decouvrant combien il est encore esloigné de la fin qu'il s'est proposée, l'excite à se desfaire de tout ce qui l'empesche d'y parvenir. Que s'il y a quelque matiere qui soit sujette à *contradiction*, et qui la *donne recevoir* pour sa perfection plus grande, il est indubitable que ce sont les productions de l'esprit, lesquelles pouvant estre regardées par tant de faces différentes et ayant besoin d'une si *juste correspondance de parties*, comme il est malaisé que celui qui les conçoit ne se trompe jamais en aucune, il est expedient aussy qu'au default des Censeurs le Public les considere de pres, et en remarque les taches, soit pour la correction de l'Auteur, soit pour sa propre instruction.⁵ Il est expedient que sur les propositions qui sont nouvelles et douteuses il naisse des debats par le moyen desquels la verité soit esclaircie,

⁴ The following sentence is set off in the manuscript by two short lines in the margin.

E

roit dans ces bornes, on pourroit dire qu'elle ne seroit pas Lettres,
....., et qu'elle ne feroit pas moins de bons
Ecrivains dans l'une, qu'elle a fait de bons Citoyens dans
l'autre.

Car c'est une verité reconnue
que la louange

a moins de force pour.....
..... vertu,
du vice; et il y a beaucoup de personnes qui.....
..... mais il.... qui ne craignent de tomber
dans la honte. D'ailleurs la louange nous fait souvent
demeurer au dessous de nous mesmes, en nous persuadant
que nous sommes des-ja au dessus des autres, et nous retient
dans une mediocrité vicieuse qui nous empesche d'arriver à la
perfection. Au contraire, le blâme qui ne passe point les
termes de l'équité, dessille les yeux de l'homme que l'amour
propre luy avoit fermés, et luy faisant voir combien il est
esloigné du bout de la carriere, l'excite à redoubler ses efforts
pour y parvenir.

Ces avis si utiles en toutes choses le sont
principalement pour les productions de l'esprit, qui ne scauroit
assembler sans secours tant de diverses beautés dont se forme
cette beauté universelle, qui doit plaire à tout le monde. Il
faut qu'il compose ses ouvrages de tant d'excellentes parties,
qu'il est impossible qu'il n'y en ait toujours quelqu'une qui
manque, ou qui soit defectueuse, et que par consequent ils
n'ayent toujours besoin ou d'aydes ou de reformateurs.

Il est mesme à souhaiter
que sur des propositions indecises il naisse des contestations
honnestes, dont la chaleur decouvre en peu de temps, ce qu'une

⁵ This passage from: *d'une si juste correspondance*, to the end of the sentence is included in a vertical line in the margin.

froide recherche n'auroit peu decouvrir en plusieurs années; et que l'entendement humain faisant un effort pour se delivrer de l'inquietude des doutes, s'acquire promptement par l'agitation de la dispute, cét agreable repos qu'il trouve dans la certitude des connoissances. Celles qui sont estimées les plus belles, sont presque toutes sorties de la contention des esprits; et il est souvent arrivé que par cette heureuse violence on a tiré la Verité du fons des abysmes, et que l'on a forcé le Temps d'en avancer la production.

C'est une espece de guerre qui est avantageuse pour tous, lors qu'elle se fait civilement, et que les armes empoisonnées y sont defendues. C'est une course, où celui qui emporte le prix semble ne l'avoir poursuivy que pour en faire un present à son rival.

Il seroit superflu de faire en ce lieu une longue deduction des innocentes et profitables querelles qu'on a veu naistre dans tout le Cercle des Sciences, entre ces rares hommes de l'Antiquité.

Il suffira de dire que parmy les Modernes il s'en est esmu de tres-favorables pour les Lettres, et que la Poésie seroit aujourd'huy bien moins parfaite qu'elle n'est, sans les contestations qui se sont formées sur les ouvrages des plus celebres Autheurs des derniers Temps.

En effect nous en avons la principale obligation aux agreables differens qu'ont produit la Hierusalem et le Pastor Fido, c'est à dire les Chef-d'œuvres des deux plus grands Poëtes de de-là les Monts; apres lesquels peu de gens auroient bonne grace de murmurer contre la Censure, et de s'offencer d'avoir une avanture pareille à la leur.

et c'est par cette seule voye que tout ce que le Monde a de plus belles connoissances est venu à se decouvrir, de la mesme sorte que par le choc du fer et du caillou le feu vient à se produire et se resandre en etincelles.

Ces combats de doctrine se peuvent faire civilement et sans animosité. C'est une espece de guerre paisible, dans laquelle il se trouve du profit également pour le vaincu et pour le victorieux; et comme la Verité est le prix que l'on court dans cette lice, celui qui l'a emportée semble ne l'avoir poursuivy qu'à fin d'en faire un present à son Competiteur. Il seroit superflu de prouver icy nostre opinion par un long denombrement des innocentes contestations qu'ont eues dans tout le Cercle des Sciences ces rares hommes de l'Antiquité, qui travailloient avec tant d'ardeur à la culture de l'esprit et à la recherche des merveilles de la Nature. Il ne faut avoir qu'une mediocre familiarité avec eux pour reconnoistre que rien n'a esté imaginé tout d'un coup parfaitement, et que les plus saines opinions n'ont jamais esté les premieres. Il suffira de dire qu'entre les Modernes il s'est esmu des querelles si avantageuses pour le bien des lettres que sans elles la Poésie de nos temps seroit encore informe, en ce qu'il regarde ses plus hautes especes, et que nous en ignorions aussi bien l'Art que ceux qui ont vescu un Siecle devant nous. Par ces mots chacun entend bien sans doute que nous voulons parler des proces intentés contre la Hierusalem et le Pastor Fido; c'est à dire les Chef-d'œuvres des deux plus grands Hommes de de-la les Monts, et il n'y a personne qui ne sache que de mille questions embarrassées sur le Poëme Epique et Dramatique la resolution n'aît esté trouvée par l'occasion de

E

Ces raisons et ces expericieux eussent bien peu convier l'Académie Française à dire son sentiment du Cid, c'est à dire d'un Poème qui tient encore les esprits divisés, et qui n'a plus causé de plaisir que de trouble.

Elle eust peu croire qu'on ne l'eust pas accusée de trop entreprendre quand elle eust pretendu donner sa voix en un jugement, où les ignorans donnoient la leur aussi hardiment que les doctes, et qu'on n'eust pas deu trouver mauvais qu'une Compagnie usast d'un droit, dont les particuliers memes sont en possession depuis tant de siècles.

A

ces beaux differens. Maintenant la France voit chés elle une Piece dont le destin s'est rencontré semblable à celui de ces deux fameux Ouvrages, sinon en excellence, au moins en éclat; et en ce qu'elle s'est veuë comme eux diversement agitée d'applaudissemens et de blâmes.^s Et certes quel que puisse estre le Cid, de quelque petit merite qu'on l'estime, il doit se tenir bienheureux d'avoir excité ces troubles et divisé le Royaume en partis sur son sujet. Que l'on l'examine et que l'on le condanne, on ne luy scauroit oster l'avantage d'avoir fait beaucoup de bruit, et d'avoir également attiré sur luy les yeux de l'admiration et de la Censure. On ne luy scauroit oster l'avantage d'avoir esté la celebre Pierre de scandale que doivent remarquer les Poètes de Theatre afin de se regler par ses beautés ou par ses imperfections en ce qu'ils auront à suyvre ou à éviter pour satisfaire les habiles. Plusieurs attaques luy ayant donc esté faites par ceux qui se sont persuadés que sa reputation estoit fausse, et que le Peuple la luy avoit accordée plustost par faveur ou par surprise que par justice et par raison; et chacun attendant une solide defense de la part de l'accusé, son principal Observateur s'est resolu de rendre l'Académie Française Juge de ses Remarques et par une lettre publique et plusieurs particulieres luy a instamment demandé qu'elle proncast sur ses raisons afin d'estre esclaircy de leur foiblesse ou de leur validité. Son Authheur d'autre costé ayant aussi tesmoigné par ses lettres qu'il esperoit justice d'elle, bien que par les reglemens de son Institution elle se fust proscrit de ne faire aucun examen d'ouvrages que de ceux que produiroient les personnes dont elle est composée,

Mais elle se souvenoit qu'elle avoit renoncé à ce privilege par son institution, qu'elle ne s'estoit permis d'examiner que ses ouvrages, et qu'elle ne pouvoit reprendre les fautes d'autrui sans faillir elle mesme contre ses regles. Parmy le bruit confus de la louange et du blâme, elle n'escoutoit que ses loix qui luy commandoient de se taire. Elle eust bien voulu approcher en quelque sorte de la perfection, avant que de faire voir combien les autres en sont esloignés, et elle qu'entre les doctes et les ignorans, au lieu que les autres deux pieces ont esté entre les gens d'esprit.

^s Opposite the beginning of the preceding sentence a short vertical line in the margin. The same margin contains the first of Richelieu's notes, written in the hand of his secretary. Citois: L'applaudissement et le blâme du Cid n'est

cherchoit les moyens d'instruire par ses exemples, plustost que par ses censures. Lors mesme que l'Observateur du Cid l'a conjurée par une lettre publique, et par plusieurs particulieres de prononcer sur ses Remarques, et que son Autheur a tesmoigné de son costé qu'il en esperoit toute justice, bien loin de se vouloir rendre Juge de leur different, elle ne se pouvoit seulement resoudre d'en estre l'Arbitre. Mais en fin elle a considéré qu'une Academie ne pouvoit honnestement refuser son avis à deux personnes de merite, sur une matiere purement Academique, et qui estoit devenuë illustre par tant de circonstances. Elle a fait ceder, bien qu'avec regret, son inclination et ses regles aux instantes prieres qui luy ont esté faites sur ce sujet, et s'est aucunement consolée voyant que la violence qu'on luy faisoit s'accordoit avec l'utilité publique. Elle a pensé qu'en un siecle où les hommes courent au theatre comme au plus agreable divertissement qu'ils puissent prendre, elle auroit occasion de leur remettre devant les yeux la fin la plus noble et la plus parfaite, que se sont proposée ceux qui en ont donné les preceptes. Comme les Observations des Censeurs de cette Tragi-comedie, ne l'ont peu preoccuper, le grand nombre de ses Partisans n'a point esté capable de l'estonner. Elle a bien creu qu'elle pouvoit estre bonne, mais elle n'a pas creu qu'il fallust conclurre qu'elle le fust, à cause seulement qu'elle avoit esté agreable. Elle s'est persuadée qu'estant question de juger de la justice et non pas de la force de son party, il falloit plustost peser les raisons, que conter les hommes qu'elle avoit de son costé, et ne regarder pas tant si elle avoit pleu, que si en effect elle avoit deu plaire. La Nature et la Verité ont mis un certain prix aux choses, qui ne peut estre changé par celuy que le hazard ou l'opinion y mettent, et c'est se condamner soy mesme que d'en faire jugement selon ce qu'elles paroissent et non pas selon ce qu'elles sont. Il est vray qu'on pourroit croire que les Maistres de l'Art ne sont pas bien d'accord sur cette matiere.

Elle a creu ne pouvoir denier son avis à deux personnes de merite, sur une matiere purement Academique, et devenuë illustre par tant de circonstances, ny manquer pour la satisfaction commune à publier ce qu'elle en pense, comme Arbitre et non comme Juge, dont la qualité luy semble odieuse et qu'elle declare (var. ne pouvoir) ne point accepter.

Mais avant que d'entrer en la discussion des choses reprises dans le Cid, Elle a trouvé necessaire de

A

dire que la fin de la Poesie qui imite les actions humaines n'est pas une chose encore bien resoluë. Car les uns soustiennent qu'elle n'a pour but que le plaisir des Peuples, les autres que sa dernière intention est leur profit.

Et chacune des deux opinions a ses fondemens si fermes qu'ils leur acquerient des partisans en grand nombre, et font qu'elles se persuadent chacune que les meilleures voix sont pour elles. L'ordinaire des hommes qui jugent par leurs sens, et qui n'approuvent que ce qui est agreable, tiennent pour la première absolument, et assurent qu'il n'y a que le divertissement seul qui les meine au theatre. Les autres qui se consellent avec leur raison et qui penetrent jusqu'au dernier usage des choses tiennent pour la seconde, et disent que le Plaisir n'est que la moyenne fin de la Poesie et que c'est par luy qu'insensiblement elle purge l'ame de quelques unes de ses habitudes vicieuses. Ainsy selon les uns le Delectable estant tout ce qu'elle cherche, et selon les autres l'Utile constituant sa principale fin, l'on ne scauroit prononcer que conditionnellement sur le merite d'une Piece de theatre, en cette sorte, que si elle a plu elle est bonne au regard de ceux qui n'y desirerent que le Plaisir, et que si elle n'a fait que plaire sans profiter elle ne peut passer pour telle aupres de ceux qui veulent qu'elle profite principalement. Il y a bien une troisieme opinion de quelque Moderne, lequel sans s'attacher à celle qui fait de la Poesie une Morale desguisée estime que le Plaisir en est la seule fin, mais fait distinction de Plaisir et ne luy attribué que celui qui est raisonnable.

E

Les uns trop amis, ce semble, de la volupté, veulent que le Delectable soit le vray but de la Poésie Dramatique; les autres plus avarés du temps des hommes, et l'estimant trop cher pour le donner à des divertissemens qui ne fissent que plaire sans profiter, soustiennent que l'Utile en est la véritable fin.

Mais bien qu'ils s'expriment en termes si differens, on trouvera qu'ils ne disent que la mesme chose, si l'on y veut regarder de prés, et si jugeant d'eux aussi favorablement que l'on doit, on vient à penser que ceux qui ont tenu le party du Plaisir estoient trop raisonnables pour en autoriser un qui ne fust pas conforme à la raison. Il faut croire, si l'on ne veut leur faire injustice, qu'ils ont entendu parler du plaisir qui n'est point l'ennemy, mais l'instrument de la vertu, qui purge l'homme, sans dégoust et insensiblement, de

Et suivant cette doctrine on pourroit dire encore qu'il ne suffiroit pas que les Pièces de theatre pleussent pour estre bonnes si le Plaisir qu'elles produiroient n'estoit fondé en raison et si elles ne le produisoient par les voyes qui le rendent regulier, lesquelles à peu pres sont les mesmes qui sont requises pour le rendre profitable.

Comme dans la Musique et dans la Peinture on ne diroit pas que toute sorte de concerts et de tableaux fussent bons, quoy qu'ils pleussent au vulgaire si toutes les regles de ces Arts n'y estoient observées, et si les Experts qui en sont les vrais Juges ne confirmeroit par leur approbation celle que le commun leur auroit donnée. Toutesfois en ce particulier fait du Cid nous voulons croire que cette Piece ayant fort pleu nous estimons qu'elle se peut dire bonne, si l'on regarde seulement ceux qui n'y recherchent que le plaisir. De sorte que son Observateur auroit entierement perdu la partie de ce costé là, et auroit en vain allegué ce qu'Aristote et Heinsius luy ont enseigné sur cette matiere. Mais parce que nous ne croyons pas que sans de puissans motifs (var. les Partisans du profit) ceux qui tiennent pour le Profit l'ayent assigné pour fin à la Poésie, nous sommes obligés de dire qu'au regard de ceux là le Cid est une Piece moins accomplie qu'elle n'a esté communement jugée, et que selon leur doctrine l'Observateur n'a pas eu tort en toutes les choses qu'il y a condamnées.

ses habitudes vicieuses, qui est utile parce qu'il est honneste, et qui ne peut jamais laisser de regret ny en l'esprit pour l'avoir surpris, ny en l'ame pour l'avoir corrompu. Ainsi ils ne combattent les autres qu'en apparence, puis qu'il est vray que si ce Plaisir n'est l'Utilité mesme, au moins est-il la source d'où elle coule necessairement; que quelque part qu'il se trouve il ne va jamais sans elle, et que tous deux se produisent par les mesmes voyes.

De cette sorte ils sont d'accord et avec eux et avec nous, et nous pouvons dire tous ensemble qu'une Piece de theatre est bonne quand elle produit un contentement raisonnable. Mais comme dans la Musique et dans la Peinture nous n'estimerions pas que tous les concerts et tous les tableaux fussent bons, encores qu'ils pleussent au vulgaire, si les preceptes de ces Arts n'y estoient bien observés,..... Juges
..... celle de la multitude.

De mesme, nous ne dirons pas sur la foy du Peuple, qu'un ouvrage de Poésie soit bon parce qu'il l'aura contenté, si les doctes aussi n'en sont contents. Et certes il n'est pas croyable qu'un plaisir puisse estre contraire au bon sens, si ce n'est le

plaisir de quelque goust depravé comme est celui qui fait aymer les aigreur et les amertumes. Il n'est pas icy question de satisfaire les libertins et les vicieux qui ne font que rire des adulteres et des incestes, et qui ne se soucient pas de voir violer les loix de la Nature pourveu qu'ils se divertissent. Il n'est pas question de plaire à ceux qui regardent toutes choses d'un œil ignorant ou barbare, et qui ne seroient pas moins touchés de voir affliger une Clytemnestre qu'une Penelope. Les mauvais exemples sont contagieux, mesme sur les theatres; les feintes representations ne causent que trop de veritables crimes, et il y a grand peril à divertir le Peuple par des plaisirs qui peuvent produire un jour des douleurs publiques. Il nous faut bien garder d'accoustumer ny ses yeux ny ses oreilles à des actions qu'il doit ignorer et de luy apprendre tantost la cruauté, et tantost la perfidie, si nous ne luy en apprenons en mesme temps la punition, et si au retour de ces spectacles il ne remporte du moins un peu de crainte parmy beaucoup de contentement. D'ailleurs, il est comme impossible de plaire à qui que ce soit par le desordre et par la confusion, et s'il se trouve que les Picces irregulieres contentent quelquesfois, ce n'est que pour ce qu'elles ont quelque chose de regulier; ce n'est que pour quelques beautés veritables et extraordinaires, qui emportent si loin l'esprit que de long temps après il n'est capable d'appercevoir les difformités dont elles sont suivies, et qui font couler insensiblement les defaux pendant que les yeux de l'entendement sont encore esblouis par l'éclat de ses lumieres. Que si au contraire quelques Picces regulieres donnent peu de satisfaction, il ne faut pas croire que ce soit la faute des regles, mais bien celle des Autheurs, dont le sterile genie n'a peu fournir à l'Art une matiere qui fust assez riche. Toutes ces verités estant supposées, nous ne pensons pas que les questions qui se sont esmuës sur le sujet du Cid soient encores bien décidées ny que les jugemens qui en ont esté faits doivent empescher que nous ne contentions l'Observateur, et ne donnions nostre avis sur ses Remarques.

Et c'est en ce lieu que nous commencerons à examiner ses Remarques pour voir si elles ont tousjours pour garand cette doctrine sur laquelle il pretend les avoir fondées, ou si cette mesme doctrine ne leur est point quelquesfois contraire.

CRITIQUE

The larger part of the Critique is printed in three parallel columns, corresponding to the original manuscript reading, the revised readings, and the text of the first edition (see above, pp. 2ff). A represents the primitive manuscript form of the Sentiments, B and C the same after it had been revised, E the text of the first edition of 1638. When the final manuscript form, C, is almost or quite identical with E, C and E will be combined in the last column and the columns will be designated A, B, and CE. In this case the orthography of B continues to hold for C which is combined with E; but where C differs in punctuation or in a word from B and E, the mark of punctuation or the words will be enclosed in the E column in parentheses. When, on the other hand, the manuscript forms B and C are similar, but differ from E, the columns will be designated A, BC, and E. In certain more difficult passages numerous revisions were made and here the text is presented in four, or even five, columns. For example, on page 35, A represents the primitive form, B, BB, BBB, intermediate revisions, which may, however, very well have been made at a single sitting, and then the final manuscript and printed forms CE. If the reader will bear in mind the values of these designating letters there will be no need of further explanations concerning certain necessary variations from this general scheme. As in the Preamble dotted lines indicate literal conformity with the column to the left. Blank spaces indicate cancellation, addition or emendation. The designations B and C are not to be taken too rigorously for it is often impossible to determine at which revision a given change was made. In a number of quite obvious cases in this portion of the work, italicizing—equivalent to underlining in the manuscript—indicates merely quotation.

A		B		CE	
D'abord il y a lieu	D'abord	nous sommes estonnés que.....	Il faut (C, avouer) avouer que d'abord	nous.....	nous.....l'Observa-
de s'estonner que l'Observa-	.....	.....	teur, (C, as in AB)	.....	.....
teur, qu'on ne peut accuser d'ignorance,	Piece d'irregularité,	..... cette	.....	.....	.....
ayant entrepris de convaincre d'irregu-	..... se soit formé .....	.....	.....methode.....que tient Aristote	.....	.....
larité cette Piece, l'ait entrepris luy mesme	s'est servy lors qu'il a voulu enseigner la	..... dont Aristote	quand il	.....	enseigne la
irregulierement, et se soit fait pour cela	maniere de faire des Poemes Epiques et	.....	maniere de faire les Poemes.....	.....	.....
une Methode differente de celle d'Aristote.	Dramatiques. Il nous a semblé qu'au	.....	.....	.....	.....
	lieu des quatre premiers points sur les-	.....	.....	.....	.....
	quels il a examiné ce Poeme il eust mieux	.....	.....	.....	.....
	fait d'en prendre quatre autres, suyvnt	.....	.....	.....	.....
	l'ordre qu'a tenu ce grand Maistre de l'Art,	.....	.....	.....	.....
	dans lesquels sans confusion se rencontrent	.....	.....	.....	.....
	toutes les choses qu'il a touchées. Il nous	.....	.....	.....	.....
	a semblé qu'il eust fait plus regulierement	.....	.....	.....	.....
c'est à di-	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

examinons son Examen, quelque chemin qu'il ait suivi nous ne pouvons manquer à le suivre, ne voulant pas lui donner lieu de se plaindre que nous lui changeons l'espece de sa cause, ny de dire que nous prenons une autre route afin de le mettre en défaut.

A

Ayant donc premierement posé que le Sujet du Cid ne vaut rien et s'estant efforcé de le prouver, nous estimons qu'il ne le prouve pas par la raison qu'il allegue, *que l'on n'y trouve aucun Nœu ny aucune Intrigue, et qu'on en devine la fin aussy tost qu'on en a vu le commencement.* Car le Nœu des Pièces de theatre estant un accident inopiné qui arreste le cours de l'Action representée, et le Desnouement un autre accident impreveu qui en facilite l'accomplissement nous trouvons que ces deux parties du Poëme dramatique sont manifestes en celuy du Cid, et que son Sujet ne seroit pas mauvais nonobstant cette objection s'il n'y en avoit point de plus forte à lui faire. Ce qui sera aisé à juger si l'on se veut souvenir que le mariage de Chimene avec Rodrigue ayant esté resolu dans l'esprit du Conte la querelle qu'il a incontinent apres avec D. Diegue met cette affaire aux termes de se rompre, et qu'en suite la mort que lui donne Rodrigue en esloigne encore plus la conclusion. Et c'est là

.....le sien, .....	.....son Ouvrage; et.....
qu'il ait pris nous ne pourrions nous en	.....ne scaurions.....
escarter sans lui donner sujet	.....occasion
de se plaindre	de se plaindre,
et de dire.....	que nous
.....
BC	E
Il pose donc premierement que le	.....
.....rien;	sujet.....
mais à nostre avis il	.....mais.....
tasche plus de le prouver qu'il ne le prouve	.....
en effect lors qu'il dit,	effect,.....
.....
.....	.....aussi.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....	Desnoïement.....
.....	.....l'accomplissement,.....
.....	.....Poëme
.....	Dramatique.....
.....	.....sujet.....mau-
.....	vais,.....objection,.....
.....	.....faire.
.....	Il.....
Il ne faut que sa sou-	.....
venir.....	.....
.....
.....	Conte.....
.....l'affaire.....	.....
.....	.....suite.....
.....
.....Et dans ces	.....

le Nœu ou l'Intrigue. Le Desnouement aussy ne paroistra pas moins evident si l'on considere qu'apres beaucoup de poursuittes contre Rodrigue Chimene s'estant offerte pour femme à quiconque luy en apporteroit la teste D. Sanche se presente et le Roy contre l'attente de tout le Monde, non content de ne point ordonner de plus grande peine à Rodrigue pour la mort du Conte que de se battre une fois, oblige encore Chimene d'espouser celuy des deux qui sortiroit vainqueur du combat. Examiner maintenant si ce Desnouement est selon l'art ou non, c'est une autre question qui se vuidera en son lieu. Tant y a qu'il se fait avec surprise, et qu'ainsy l'intrigue ny le desmeslement ne manquent point à cette Piece. Ce que peu apres le mesme Observateur est contraint de reconnoistre lors qu'en blasmant les Episodes detachés il dit en propres termes que l'Autheur a eu d'autant moins de raison d'en mettre un si grand nombre dans le Cid *que le sujet en estant mixte il n'en avoit aucun besoin, conformément à ce qu'il venoit de dire parlant du sujet mixte qu'estant assés intrigué de soy il ne recherche presque aucun embellissement.* Si donc le sujet du Cid

se peut dire mauvais

continuelles traverses l'on reconnoistra facilement..... ne sera pas Desnouement aussy Rodrigue, teste, presente, à Rodrigue, Comte, Maintenant Desnouement qu'ainsi Piece. Aussi l'Observateur mesme est. apres, de le reconnoistre peu de temps apres. dit que..... Cid, que..... *avoit aucun besoin* du sujet mixte, *embellissement.*

..... nous ne croyons pas que

..... Desnouement aussy Rodrigue, teste, presente, à Rodrigue, Comte, Maintenant Desnouement qu'ainsi Piece. Aussi apres, detachés, il dit que..... Cid, que..... *avoit aucun besoin* du sujet mixte, *embellissement.*

..... mauvais,.....

ce n'est pas pource qu'il n'a point de Nœu; mais pource qu'il n'est pas vraysemblable. Raison que l'Observateur a bien touchée, mais hors de sa place, quand il a voulu prouver qu'il choquoit les principales Regles Dramatiques.	ce soit pource et s'il n'est pas bon c'est pource	Nœu; mais pour ce	Nœu;
Par ce que nous pouvons juger des sentimens d'Aristote sur la matiere du Vraysemblable, il n'en reconnoist que de deux genres, le premier le commun, qui comprend les choses qui arrivent ordinairement aux hommes, selon leurs conditions, leurs aages, leurs mœurs et leurs passions, comme il est vraysemblable qu'un marchant cherche le gain, qu'un enfant face des imprudences, qu'un prodigue tombe en misere, qu'un lasche fuy le danger, et ce qui suit ordinairement de cela; le second extraordinaire, qui embrasse les choses qui arrivent rarement et outre la vraysemblance ordinaire, comme qu'un habile et meschant soit trompé, qu'un tiran puisant soit surmonté; dans lequel extraordinaire entrent tous les accidens suprenans et qu'on nomme de la Fortune, pourveu qu'ils soient produits par un enchainement de ces choses qui arrivent d'ordinaire.	qu'un traordinaire, embrasse L'ex- traordinaire, embrasse qu'un homme fort soit vaincu; et dans cet extraordinaire qu'on attribue à la Fortune, qu'ils naissent de l'enchaînement des choses ordinairement.	pour ce vraysemblable. L'Observateur(,) à la verité(,) a bien touché cette raison, mais ç'a esté hors A ce. vraysemblable, genres, le commun, et l'extraordinaire. Le commun comprend passions, marchand. qu'un homme en colere coure à la vengeance, et tous les effects qui ont accusé d'en (C, suivre) proceder. L'extraordinaire, rarement, vraysemblable (C, blanche) Dans attribué surprennent d'ordinaire.	Nœu; mais pour ce vraysemblable. L'Observateur(,) à la verité(,) a bien touché cette raison, mais ç'a esté hors A ce. vraysemblable, genres, le commun, et l'extraordinaire. Le commun comprend passions, marchand. qu'un homme en colere coure à la vengeance, et tous les effects qui ont accusé d'en (C, suivre) proceder. L'extraordinaire, rarement, vraysemblable (C, blanche) Dans attribué surprennent d'ordinaire.

⁷ Opposite the end of this sentence, the first marginal note in Richelieu's own hand *Il faut ne s'exemple. See Introduction, p. 7.*

Hors de ces deux genres il ne se fait rien qu'on puisse ranger sous le vraysemblable, et ce qui se fait quelquesfois qui n'est pas compris sous eux s'appelle simplement possible, comme qu'un homme de bien commette volontairement un crime, et servir de sujet à la Poesie narrative ny representative; le possible estant sa matiere propre seulement lorsqu'il est ou vraysemblable ou nccessaire. Mais ces deux sortes de Vraysemblable et s'il arrive quelque evenement qui ne (B, est) soit pas compris sous eux, il s'appelle simplement possible, comme il est possible,par une raison inconnue ^a commette un crime volontairement. Or une telle action ne peutny à la.....puisque si le possible est leur propre matiere il ne l'est pourtant que lorsqu'il.....Pour ces.....	Telle est l'avanture d'Hecube, qui par une rencontre extraordinaire vit jeter par la mer le corps de son Fils sur le rivage, où elle estoit allée pour laver celuy de sa Fille. Or qu'une mere aille laver le corps de sa Fille sur le rivage, et que la mer y en jette un autre, ce sont deux choses qui considerées separément n'ont rien qui ne soit ordinaire, mais qu'au mesme lieu et au mesme temps qu'une Mere lave le corps de sa Fille elle voye arriver celuy de son Fils, qu'elle croyoit plein de vie et en seureté, c'est un accident tout à fait estrange, et dans lequel deux choses communes en produisent une extraordinaire et merveilleuse.Vray-semblable,possible;..... que celuy qui a tousjours vescu en homme de bien commette.....Et une.....Poésie.....puis que.....matiere,.....lors qu'il est vray-semblable.... Mais le Vraysemblable, tant le commun que l'ex-
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^a Opposite this passage, the second marginal note in Richelieu's hand: *Il faut un temperament.* See plate III.

autres du vulgaire pour le Merveilleux véritable qui mériterait le nom de Miraculeux.

Ces choses ainsi presupposées nous disons que le sujet du Cid est defectueux en sa plus essentielle partie, comme celui qui manque de l'un et de l'autre Vraysemblable commun et extraordinaire.

Car ny la biensance des
meurs d'une Pille introduitte

« La vertu n'est gardée par le Poète, mais par la Fortune. C'est elle qui se resout à espouser celui qui a tué son Père, ny la Fortune par un accident impréveu et produit par l'enchaînement des choses vraysemblables n'en fait point le desmeslement. Au contraire la Fille consent à ce mariage par la seule violence que luy fait son amour, et le Desnouement de l'intrigue n'est fondé que sur l'injustice inopinée de Fernand qui comme un Dieu sortant d'une machine vient ordonner un mariage, que raisonnablement il ne devoit pas seulement proposer. Le Merveilleux se rencontre bien en cette avanture, mais c'est un Merveilleux qui tient du Monstre, et qui donne de l'indignation et de l'horreur aux Spectateurs plustost que de l'instruction et du profit.

[illegible]

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[illegible]

¹⁰ It may be that this passage, which has no counterpart in E, is that discussion of the *Mercureux*, referred to in the letter of Chapelain to Boileau, cited in the Introduction p. 7. In that case we may presume that it was displaced by the example of *Heuctab* evidently introduced into the printer's

copy at the eleventh hour.

is *Saul*, crossed out in the first revision, is afterwards rewritten between the lines.

que toutes les verités ne sont pas bonnes pour le theatre, et qu'il en est de quelques-unes comme de ces crimes enormes, dont les Juges font brusler les procés avec les criminels. Il y a des verités monstreu-
ses, ou qu'il faut supprimer pour le bien de la societé, ou que si l'on ne peut les tenir cachées, il faut se contenter de re-
marquer comme des choses estranges.

C'est.....rencontres
.....a droit de.....vray-sem-
blance.....verité, et de travailler
plustost sur un sujet feint et raison-
nable, que sur un veritable qui ne fust
pas conforme à la raison. Que s'il est
.....traitter.....
.....nature, c'est alors
qu'il la doit.....
.....bien-seance,.....
verité, et qu'il.....
.....
.....
.....choses,.....
defaux,.....
.....
.....

.....
.....

mesme aux depens de la verité.

Or c'est principalement en ces occasions
que le Poëte doit preferer la Vraysem-
blance à la verité et qu'il doit plustost
travailler sur une chose toute feinte
pourveu qu'elle
soit conforme à la raison, ou s'il est
obligé de prendre une matiere historique
de cette nature pour la porter sur le
theatre, qu'il la doit reduire aux termes
de la bienseance, mesme aux depens de la
verité. C'est alors qu'il la doit plustost
changer toute entiere que de luy laisser
une seule tasche incompatible avec les
regles de son Art; lequel cherche l'uni-
verselle^u des choses et les espure des
defaux et des irregularités particulieres
que l'histoire par la severité de ses loix est
contrainte d'y souffrir.

De sorte qu'il y auroit eu moins d'incon-
venient sans comparaison, en disposant
.....sans comparaison
moins d'inconvenient dans la disposition

^u This passage from: *la porter sur le theatre*, to: *l'universelle des choses*, the end of the sentence:
is included in a heavy line in the margin. Outside this line is a cross opposite

le Sujet du Cid pour le theatre, de feindre contre la verité qu'on eust reconnu le Conte pour Pere putatif!	de.....	du Cid,
de Chimene, ou que contre l'opinion de tout le Monde il ne fust pas mort de sa blessure; ou que <i>le salut du Roy et du Royaume dependist</i> absolument de ce mariage si peu raisonnable, pour compenser la violence que recevoit la Nature en cette occasion, par le bien que le Prince et son Estat en recevroit; tout cela auroit esté plus pardonnable que de donner à la Scene l'evenement tout par et tout scandaleux comme l'histoire le fournissoit.	pour simple Pere putatif...............eust absolument dependu.....que souffroit. ..... .....sons nous. .....di- .....sons nous. .....que de porter sur la scene. .....scandaleux, .....	.....verité, ou que le Comte ne se fust pas trouvé à la fin le veritable Pere.....monde. .....le salut du Roy et du Royaume. mariage, pour. ..... .....tout cela, di- .....pardonnable, ..... .....scandaleux,
A	BC	E
Mais le plus expedient eust esté de n'en point faire de Poeme dramatique puis qu'il estoit trop connu pour l'alterer en un point si essentiel, et de trop mauvais exemple pour l'exposer à la veue du Peuple sans l'avoir auparavant rectifié. Au reste l'Observateur, lequel non sans grande rai- son a trouvé à redire au peu de vrayem- blance du mariage de Chimene, ne con- firme pas sa bonne cause comme il le croit par la signification pretendue du terme de Fable duquel se sert Aristote pour nommer le Sujet des Poemes Drama- tiques. Et cette erreur luy est commune avec quelques uns des Commentateurs de	.........................qui avec son trouve.........................cause. .....pretendue croit, .....Fable, .....sujet. .....quelques-uns	..........Dramatique, .....veüe du Peuple, .....Au reste, .....vray-sem- blance. .....cause. .....pretendue croit, .....Fable, .....sujet. .....quelques-uns

pollution and for future repair work at all. A

que le detail n'en fust point connu, afin	.....detail.....
que le Poete le peust suppleer par son	.....Poète.....
invention, et du moins en cette partie me-	.....
riter le nom de Poète. Et certes ce seroit	.....
une bien estrange doctrine, pour demeurer	.....une doctrine bien estrange, si pour.....
rer dans la signification litterale du mot	.....
de Fable, de vouloir faire passer pour	.....on vouloit faire.....
choses fabuleuses ces aventures des Me-	.....aventures.....
dées, des Edipes, des Orestes, etc. que	.....
toute l'Antiquité nous assure estre des	.....donne pour de veri-
histoires, en ce qui regarde le	.....tables histoires,.....
gros de l'evenement, bien que dans le	.....
detail il y puisse avoir des opinions dif-	.....detail.....
ferentes.	.....

A	B	C	E
Et si l'on en veut croire Bacon,	.....	De celles la mesmes qui.....	De celles-là qui.....
celles mesmes qui sont es-	de celles mesmes.....	.....Fables, il n'y en	.....
timées pures Fables,	.....	a pas une quelque bizarre et	.....une,.....
quelques bizarres et	.....	extravagante qu'elle soit,	.....soit,
extravagantes qu'elles soient,	.....	qui....	.....
il n'y en a aucune qui n'ait	.....en a pas une qui....	.....	.....
son fondement dans l'histoire,	.....	.....	.....
ayant esté desguisées de	.....	si l'on en veut croire Bacon,	.....
la sorte par les Sages des	.....	et qui n'ait esté desguisée..	.....
vieux Temps pour les rendre	.....la.....	.....	.....du
plus utiles aux Peuples.	.....utile.....	.....	.....Temps,.....
		

A	B	BB	BBB	CE
C'e qui nous fait dire	C'est ce qui nous fait	.....	Et c'est.....
qu'il ne seroit peut estre	dire dans un sentiment	.....	.....

A	B	BB	BBB	CE
pas plus raisonnable d'affirmer que le Poète	.....	contraire à celui de l'Observateur	.....	.....
croiroit commettre un Sacrilege de changer la verité de l'histoire pour l'accommoder à ses fins,	.....	Poète ne devoit pas croire.....	.....	l'Observateur,
apres ce que ces premiers Philosophes ont fait selon la creance de ce grand Personnage;	.....	.....	craindre de.....	.....ne doit pas craindre de commettre un sacrilege en changeant la verité de l'histoire.
apres ce que le plus religieux des Poetes a pratiqué dans son Eneide	.....	.....	.....en changeant..	.....
lorsque contre ce qui est veritable il a supposé Didon peu chaste,	falsifiant il a	ce que..	.....	(C, Et) Nous.....
		.....	et nous sommes confr- més dans cette creance quand nous considerons le plus religieux des Poetes qui corrompant la verité de l'histoire	..... ..... par le..... Poètes, qui corrompant l'histoire
		fait Didon.....	.....	.....
	

A	B	CE
sans autre necessité que d'embellir son Poeme d'un Episode admirable, et d'obliger les Romains aux despens des Carthaginois; apres ce que le mesme Virgile a usé pour la constitution essentielle de son Ouvrage, feignant Enée zelé pour le salut de sa Patrie et victorieux de tous les Heros du Pais latin, quoy qu'il se trouve des Historiens qui rapportent que ce fut l'un des traistres qui dirent Troye aux Grecs, et que d'autres asseurent que Mezenice le tua et	....................et enfin considerant ce que le mesme Poete a fait pour..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... .....encore.....tua,..	..... ..... ..... .....et qui pour..... Ouvrage a feint son.... Patrie,..... Latin,.....

en remporta les despoütiles. Ainsy l'Ob-
servateur selon nostre avis ne conduit pas
bien *que le Cid n'est pas un*
bon Sujet de Poëme Dramatique, pource
qu'estant historique, et par consequent véri-
table il ne pouvoit estre changé, ny rendu
propre au theatre, puisque si Virgile, par
exemple, a bien fait sans qu'il fust neces-
saire d'une femme chaste une qui ne l'es-
toit pas, contre la verité, il auroit
bien peu estre permis à un autre de faire
pour l'utilité publique d'un mariage ex-
travagant un qui fust raisonnable, en y
apportant les ajustemens, et prenant
les biais qui en pouvoient corriger les
defauts. Nous scavons bien que quel-
ques uns ont blasmé Virgile d'en avoir usé
de la sorte. Mais outre que nous
doutons si les Censeurs de Virgile¹ doivent
estre receus à *deposer* contre luy, et s'ils
connoissoient autant que luy jusqu'où
s'estend la jurisdiction de la Poësie, nous
croyons encore que s'ils l'ont blasmé ce
n'a pas esté d'avoir simplement altéré
l'histoire, mais de l'avoir altérée de bien en
mal, de telle sorte qu'ils ne l'ac-
cusent pas proprement d'avoir peché
contre l'art en changeant la verité, mais
contre les bonnes mœurs en difflamant une
personne qui estoit morte par ses mains de
peur de vivre difflamée. Chose¹³

"Qwest it did is lacking in C-

¹⁷ A cross in the which is underlined,

¹⁸ In the margin opposite this passage, a cross. The final form C, is written over it.

cecy de la juste grandeur que doit avoir un Poeme pour donner plaisir à l'esprit sans luy donner de peine est bonne et solide doctrine fondée sur l'autorité d'Aristote, ou pour mieux dire sur celle de la raison. Mais l'application ne nous en semble pas juste lorsqu'il explique cette grandeur plustost du temps que des matieres, et qu'il veut que le Cid soit excessif en grandeur par ce qu'il comprend en un jour des actions qui se sont faites dans le cours de plusieurs années, au lieu d'esayer à faire voir qu'il comprend plus d'actions que l'esprit n'en pouvoit regarder d'une veuë.²¹

Ainsy tant qu'il ait prouvé que le Sujet du Cid est trop diffus pour n'embarasser pas la memoire nous ne tiendrons point qu'il pêche en excès de grandeur pour avoir ramassé en un jour les actions de plusieurs années, s'il est vraysemblable qu'elles puissent estre avenües en un jour.²² Et que ce soit l'abondance des matieres plustost que l'estenduë du temps qui trauaille l'esprit et face le Poeme trop grand, il est aisé à le juger par l'Epique, lequel peut embrasser une entiere revolution Solaire et la suite des quatre saisons, sans que la memoire ait de la

²¹ A cross in the margin opposite this passage.

..... donner du plaisir.....
..... de la peine contient une bonne
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..... soit d'une gran-
deur excessive.
.....
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.....
..... qu'il n'est croyable.....
peut regarder d'une veuë et que l'espace
d'un jour n'en peut permettre.

.....
.....
..... nous n'estimerons.....
.....
..... seul.....
.....
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.....
Mais que ce.....
.....
..... dramatique
.....
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.....
.....
..... peine,
..... doctrine,
..... dire,
.....
..... juste, lors qu'il.....
.....
.....
..... excessive, parce..... faites.....
jour,.....
.....
.....
d'actions que.....
..... veuë.

Ainsi,..... sujet
.....
..... memoire, nous n'estimons.....
..... peche en excès de grandeur,.....
.....
..... vray-semblable
..... avenües.....
..... matieres,
..... l'estenduë du temps,.....
..... Dramatique
.....
..... qui.....
..... solaire,.....
.....

²² A line in the margin includes: nous ne tiendrons pas . . . en un jour.

..... distinctement; et qui
 luy.....
 vaste.....
 confusion.....
 veüe.....
 prescript..... et
 n'a donné aux actions qui en font le sujet

 que l'espace compris entre
 Et neantmoins
 quand il a establi une règle si judicieuse
 il l'a fait pour des raisons bien esloignées
 de celle qu'allegue en ce lieu l'Obser-
 vateur.....
 de la Poésie.....
 de la vuider.....

 à celle qui... proposée...
 quelques-uns, ... Poète.....
 avenues en.....
 jugement, matie-
 res, connües, importantes.
 Le.....

 vray-semblance des evenemens,
 qui en ac-
 compagne la vérité. De
 maniere..... vray-sem-
 blable..... aussi
 conjointement..... séparé-

est dans l'histoire, is written over it.

peme à le concevoir distinctement, et
 neantmoins pourroit luy sembler trop
 vaste si le nombre des aventures y engen-
 droit confusion et ne le laissoit pas voir
 d'un coup de veüe. Aristote à la vérité a
 prescrit le temps des Pieces de theatre, et
 ne leur a donné pour leur representation
 que ce qui se comprend entre le lever et
 le coucher du Soleil.²² Il est toutesfois
 bien esloigné d'avoir establi cette règle si
 judicieuse pour la raison
 alleguée en ce lieu par l'Obser-
 vateur. Mais comme c'est une des plus
 curieuses questions de Poésie, et qu'il
 n'est point necessaire de vuider en cette
 occasion, nous remettons à la traiter dans
 la Poetique que nous avons dessein de
 faire. Quant à ce qui a esté proposé par
 quelques uns, si le Poète est condannable
 pour avoir fait arriver en mesme temps
 des choses avenues dans des temps diffé-
 rens, nous estimons qu'il ne l'est point.²³

puisque dans l'histoire le Poète ne con-
 sidere point la vérité mais seulement la
 vraysemblance sans se ren-
 dre esclave des circonstances, qui ac-
 compagne la vérité des evenemens. En
 telle sorte que pourveu qu'il soit vraysem-
 blable que plusieurs actions se soient aussy
 bien peu faire conjointement que separe-

²² A cross in the margin opposit the last line of this sentence.

²³ A cross in the margin.

ment, il est libre au Poète de les rappro-	.....	ment,.....rappro-
cher si par ce moyen il peut rendre son	.....	cher,.....
Ouvrage plus admirable.	.....plus merveilleux.	.....

A

B

BB

C

E

Ce qui se prouve trop	Ce qui se prouve	Il ne faut point d'autre	.....
clairement par la prati-	.....	preuve de cette maxime	.....doctrine
que de Virgile	.....	que l'exemple de.....	.....
dans sa Didon, laquelle	.....	.....	.....qui
au rapport de tous les	.....	.....	selon tous les
Chronologistes nasquit	.....	.....ne fut née	.....fut plus nasquit...
esloignée	mesme fort au dessous	guerres moins de deux	de deux cens ans moins
du temps d'Enée de plus	du temps d'Enée;	cens ans avant Enée;	ancienne qu'Enée; apres Enée;
de cent ans; et par l'	et.....	.....	si l'on ne veut encore ad-
exemple du Tasse dans	.....	.....	jouster celuy.....
le Renaud	son Renaud,	.....principal	.....(le) second le Renaud
de sa Hieru-	lequel	personnage.....hieru-	Heros.....de sa Hieru-
salem, lequel neantmoins	.....	salem,lequel ²³ non seule-	.....salem, lequel
ne	ne	ment ne fut point de	.....
nasquit que pres d'un	vint au monde qu'un	l'entreprise de la guerre	.....encore ne
siecle apres la mort de	siecle (depuis) apres la..	née ²⁴ lorsque mourut	pouvoit qu'à peine estre né qu'à
Godefroy de Bouillon.	.....	.....	né .....peine, lors que.....
			Bouillon.

A

BC

E

Et les fautes d'Eschyle et de Buchanan,	les fautes.....	Les.....
bien remarquées par Heinsius dans la	.....	.....Heinsius,.....
Niobe et dans le Jephthé ne concluent rien	.....	.....Jephthé,.....
contre ce que nous maintenons. Car si	.....	.....
nous croyons que le Poète comme maistre	.....	.....Poète,.....
du temps peut allonger ou accourir celuy	.....	.....temps,.....

²³ After lequel, a selon, cancelled apparently as soon as written.

²⁴ The treatment of this phrase betrays considerable uncertainty. Chapelain first wrote: mais encore n'estoit à peine né; this was crossed out

and: ne pouvoit qu'à peine estre né, substituted. Not yet satisfied, a transposition was indicated that it was to be read as in E. This transposition was then cancelled.

En cecy	ses	En cecy il faut avouer que ses	.....avouer.....
mœurs si on ne les peut appeler		mœurs sont du moins scandaleuses si en effect elles ne sont	.....scanda-
lcr <i>meschantes</i> se doivent au	depravées.....	depravées. Ces pernicieux	leuses,.....
moins avouer scandaleuses, et		exemples rendent l'ouvrage	.....
l'Ouvrage <i>qui les contient</i> par		notablement defec-	.....l'Ouvrage
elles est notablement defec-		tueux, et s'escartent.....	.....
tueux, s'escartant du but		.....	.....
de la Poesie qui veut estre		.....Poesie,.....	.....
utile; non pas que cette	utile; non pource.....	utile; non que cette	utile; Ce n'est pas que.....
utilité ne se peust produire	.....puisse produire	.....	.....
par des mœurs scandaleuses	.....scandaleuses	.....	.....mœurs qui soient mau-
mais pource qu'elle ne se peut			vaíses; mais pour la produire
produire par elles sinon lors-			par de mauvaises mœurs
qu'elles trouvent leur punition	pourveu	pourveu	il faut
à la fin, et non pas lorsqu'elles	qu'à la fin elles soient punies	.....	.....punies,
sont recompensées, com-	et non pas recompensées,....	et non recompensées,.....	.....
me elles le sont en cet ouvrage.	.....	.....	.....Ouvrage.

Nous parlerions icy de l'inegalité de ses	.....	.....de leur inegalité,	qui
mœurs, et de leur <i>veritable incertitude</i> , qui mœurs ²³	qui	.....l'Art,.....	.....
est un vice dans l'Art qui n'a point esté	.....	.....	.....
remarqué par l'Observateur, s'il ne suffi-	.....	.....	.....
soit de ce qu'il a dit pour nous faire ap-	.....	.....	.....
prouver sa censure. Ce n'est pas neant-	.....	.....censure.	Nous
moins que nous entendions condamner	.....	n'entendons pas neantmoins condamner	
Chimene de ce qu'elle ayme le meurtrier	.....	Chimene,.....	.....
de son Pere, puisque son engagement avec	.....	.....puis que.....	.....
Rodrigue avoit precedé la mort du Conte,	.....	.....	.....Comte,
et qu'il n'est pas en la puissance d'une	.....	.....	.....

²³ A cross in the margin opposite this passage.

[illegible]

²⁰ A line drawn under *prerant sur* is cancelled.

²⁰ A short stroke in the margin includes the last two lines of the manuscript, *ses desirs A mante.*

[illegible]

ne le tuoit pas de la pouvoir un jour es-	de.....	.....
pouser. Cependant ce mesme Rodrigue,	.....	.....Rodrigue
par un mouvement plus brutal que coura-	.....	.....
geux, devenu ennemy de sa Maistresse,	devenu.....	.....
ennemy de luy mesme et plus aveugle de	.....soy mesme.....	.....soy-mesme.....
colere que d'amour, ne voit plus rien que	.....	.....
son affront, et ne songe plus à rien qu'à	.....affront, ne songe plus qu'à.....	.....et ne.....
sa vengeance, et dans son transport fait	.....	.....vengeance. Dans.....il fait
des choses qu'il n'estoit pas obligé de	.....	.....
faire, et sans necessité cesse d'estre Amant	.....	.....Amant,
pour paroistre homme d'honneur.	.....	pour paroistre seulement.....
Chimene au rebours quoy que pour se bien	.....au contraire.....pour	.....au contraire.....
ressentir de la mort de son Pere elle deust	venger la mort.....	.....
faire plus que Rodrigue pour	.....n'avoit fait pour	.....puis que
venger l'affront du sien, puisque l'honneur	.....puisque	.....
de son sexe exigeoit d'elle une severité	son sexe.....	.....
plus grande, et qu'il n'y avoit que la mort	.....	.....
de Rodrigue qui peust expier celle du Con-	.....	.....Com-
te, poursuit laschement cette mort, craint	.....te,.....	.....
d'obtenir sa condannation et se souvient	de l'obtenir, et le soin qu'elle d'en obtenir l'arrest, et.....	.....
trop qu'elle est Amante, c'est à dire n'a pas	devoit avoir de son honneur cede entiere-	.....honneur,.....
assés de soin de son honneur.	ment au souvenir qu'elle a de son amour. ....	.....

Si maintenant on nous allegue	.....	.....	.....
pour sa deffence que cette pas-	.....	.....	.....deffense,.....
sion de Chimene, que nous	.....	.....	.....Chimene
trouvons mal conduite, a esté	.....	.....	.....a esté
le principal agreement de la	.....	.....	.....agrement.....
Piece, et la chose qui luy a	.....et ce qui.....	.....	.....
excité le plus d'applaudisse-	.....	.....	.....
mens, Nous respondrons que	.....	.....	.....nous.....
ce n'est pas qu'elle soit	.....	.....pource qu'elle est	.....

bonne, considérée comme partie intégrante du sujet, et employée dans un Poème dramatique mais seulement que considérée comme une passion séparée et indépendante de toute autre chose elle est pleine de tendresses non affectées et capables d'esmouvoir par la beauté de son expression. ³⁹	bonne	mais pource qu'elle est heureusement imitée et que ses puissans mouvemens joints à ses vives et naïves expressions sont bien capables de faire estimer ce qui en effect seroit estimable si c'estoit une piece séparée indépendante de ce Poème et qui ne fust point une partie d'un tout qui ne la peut souffrir. Et en fin nous dirons qu'elle a assés d'esclat et de charmes pour avoir fait oublier les regles a ceux qui ne les scavent gueres bien ou à qui elles ne sont gueres pressentes.
essentielle	bonne	
dée	mais pource qu'elle	
ces agitations de ses mouvemens ⁴⁰ sont pleines de tendresses naïves et de sentimens	est heureusement imitée et que ses puissans mouvemens joints à ses vives et naïves expressions sont bien capables de faire estimer ce qui en effect seroit estimable si c'estoit une piece séparée indépendante de ce Poème et qui ne fust point une partie d'un tout qui ne la peut souffrir. Et en fin nous dirons qu'elle a assés d'esclat et de charmes pour avoir fait oublier les regles a ceux qui ne les scavent gueres bien ou à qui elles ne sont gueres pressentes.	
leur expression		
fait	l'Observateur	
particuliers deffaux, et les divers manemens de bienséance. ⁴¹ Mais il nous semble ouvrir mal cette carrière, et nous croyons que sa première remarque est plus	Poème, pour bien-seance n'est pas	Poème, pour

³⁹ This reading seems to have been preceded by a tentative *ses mouvemens sont pleins de*, etc.
⁴⁰ Opposite this passage, the last marginal note in the hand of Citron reads (C) of the last part of the preceding paragraph is written over it.
⁴¹ After *Poème*, *Dramatique* has been cancelled.
The final manuscript reading (C) of the last part of the preceding paragraph is written over it.



A	BC	E
tost une chicane qu'une solide objection.	juste.	juste, lors qu'il trouve à redire que le Comte juge avantageusement de Sancho.
C'ar Rodrigue et Sanche ayant esté tous deux supposés du plus noble sang de Castille, le Conte avoit raison de juger qu'ils imiteroient egaleement la valeur de leurs Ancestres, et n'estoit pas obligé de prévoir que l'un d'eux seroit assés lasche pour vouloir racheter sa vie en acceptant la condition de porter son espée à sa Maistresse de la part de son vainqueur. C'e n'est pas icy le lieu de reprocher au Poete la faute qu'il fait faire à D. Sanche vers la fin de la Piece, et cette faute ayant esté posterieure à ce qu'alors disoit le Conte,	à ce que disoit (B, le Conte alors) alors le Conte,	dit maintenant le Comte,
nous l'estimons vainement alleguée icy pour condanner la bonne opinion que raisonnablement il devoit avoir de D. Sanche auparavant qu'il l'eust commise.	avant.	nous.
A	B	alleguée, pour.
La seconde Objection nous semble considerable, et nous croyons avec l'Observateur qu'Elvire simple suyvante de Chimene n'estoit pas un sujet proportionné à l'entretien que le Conte a avec elle, principalement pour ce qu'il luy dit de l'election qui se va faire d'un Gouverneur pour l'Infant de Castille et de la part qu'il y pense avoir.		Sanche,
A	BC	CE
En quoy le Poète a monstré sinon peu	En cela.	objection.
		qu'Elvire, simple suyvante de Chimene, n'estoit pas une personne avec qui le Comte deust avoir cet entretien;
		(C, pour) en ce qui regardoit que l'on alloit faire d'un Gouverneur,
		Castille, et (C, de) la part (C, pensoit y) y pensoit avoir.
		E
		monstré,

d'invention au moins beaucoup de negligence, pour l'ajustement de cet endroit; puisqu'en la feignant parente du Conte et compagne de sa Fille il eust peu rendre plus vraysemblable le discours qu'il luy fait.

.....negligence;
 puis que.....Fille,
 Comte,.....que
 le Comte luy fait. Nous trouvons encore que l'Observateur l'eust peu raisonnablement reprendre, d'avoir fait l'ouverture de toute la Piece par une Suyvante, ce qui nous semble peu digne de la gravité du sujet, et seulement supportable dans le Comique.

A
 Quant à la troisiemes nous estimons
 que le Poète ayant à introduire dans son Poeme un homme assés insolent pour frapper un vieillard de l'aage et du merite de D. Diegue, comme il estoit necessaire pour la tissure de la Piece, il n'y avoit point d'arrogance qu'il ne luy peust attribuer. Et quoy que le Conte parlant de soy si magnifique-ment ne passe pas pour hon-neste homme, il ne nous sem-ble pas aussy qu'il puisse passer pour fanfa-ron, puisque l'histoire et la propre confession de D. Diegue

B
 d'un costé
devant.....

semble-
 roit pas pourtant^a qu'il peust passer.....

C

 pourrions croire d'un costé

homme,
 il ne pourroit pas neantmoins passer.....

E

 que le Comte,
 de quelque sorte qu'il parle de luy-mesme,
 ne devroit point passer.....
l'histoire,.....
Diegue,

^a Between this form and that of C. there is an intermediate: *il ne pourroit pas pourtant.*

A	B	C	E	52
luy donnent le titre de l'un des plus vaillans hommes qui fusent alors en Espagne.tiltre.....des	
Au moins	vaillans.....	
si l'on prend le mot de fanfaron au sens que l'Observateur l'a pris, lors qu'il l'a accompagné de celui de Capitaine de la Farce de qui la valeur est toute, comme dit Virgile, <i>ven-tosa in lingua</i>Ainsi	
De sorte que les discours avantageux, seroient plustot des immodesties de vieux Soldat que des fanfaronneries de Capitaine de farce, des va-nités d'un homme vaillant que des artifices d'un poltron pour couvrir le défaut de son courage.	Au moins ne l'est il pas	du moins n'est-il pas fanfaron,	
ce mot	
au sens.....	
	
	
Farce,.....	
	toute sur la langue.	.....
	
	où.....	.....s'emporte,	
des effects	
	de la presumption d'un.....	.....Sol-	
d'un	dat,.....	
et des va-	.....Farce,.....	
	nités.....	.....vaillant,.....	
poltron,....	
	

A	B	CE
D'autre costé les hyperboles excessives,
et veritablement de theatre, des-	et qui sont.....
quelles tout le roolle de ce Conte est rem- Comte.....
ply, et l'insupportable audace avec la-
quelle il parle du Roy son Maistre, lequelqui,
à le bien considerer ne l'avoit pointconsiderer,.....
tant maltraitté en luy preferant D. Diegue	trop mal traitté, en preferant D. Diegue à
nous font croire que le nom de fan-	luy,.....
faron luy est bien deu, et que l'Observateur
le luy a donné justement. Au	..... Et en effect il le	..... avec justice.....

⁴² Between B and C, an intermediate: *des précomptions d'un, etc.*

moins si nous prenons ce mot dans l'autre merite si.....
signification en laquelle il est receu parmy il.....
nous, c'est à dire d'homme de cœur, mais où.....
qui ne fait de bonnes actions que pour en
tirer avantage, et qui les releve luy mesmeet
au dela de ce qu'elles sont, et à propos et au dessus de ce qu'elles meritent,
hors de propos, mesprisant chacun et n'es- mesprisant chacun, et n'es-
timant que soy. time que soy-mesme.

A	B	BB	C
Que si le Poete	.....	.....	.....
en ce personnage a peché con-	de.....en tout le roolle	.....	.....
tre la bienseance, luy faisant	.....	.....	.....
dire plus qu'il ne devoit, il	.....	.....	.....
nous semble qu'il a aussy peché	.....particulier-	.....en une	.....dans ce
en celuy de D. Diegue,	ment.....	autre scene peché particulier-	mesme Acte.....
luy faisant moins faire qu'il	.....	ment.....	.....
n'estoit obligé lorsque l'espée	.....	.....car lorsque....	.....
luy estant sautée des mains et	luy estant tombée.....	luy tombe.....	.....
le Conte la luy rejetant	que le Conte la repousse ⁴³ or-	.....la rejette	.....Conte desdaigne de la
du pied orgueilleusement, il	gueilleusement du pied,.....	avec orgueil, il	prendre ⁴⁴ l'Autheur ne la luy
ne la luy fait pas reprendre	.....	.....	fait point relever comme il
pour se	pour tascher à se	.....	devoit et se
venger, et se contente de	.....	.....	contente
luy faire demander au Conte	de faire qu'il demande la mort	.....	.....
qu'il le tuë, puisqu'il l'a	au Conte.	.....	.....
deshonnoré.			

⁴³ Between this and A, a tentative *la luy rejette* has been cancelled.
⁴⁴ A phrase: *pour marque de sa victoire*, is cancelled. This whole passage was rejected in E, probably because of the evident injustice of censuring the poet for what might be merely a bit of stage business on the part of the actor.

The passage would suggest that the creator of the role of the Comte was less scrupulous on the point of tragic dignity than his successors, who, according to Voltaire, were greatly embarrassed even over delivering the *soufflet* which led to this discomfiture of D. Diègue.

— Je n'ai rien de mieux à vous proposer, dit-il, que de vous accompagner à la messe pour la messe de la Vierge, et pour faire en tendre que le Pape ne doit demander en mariage pour son fils au Couteau.

Quant à la loi
entièrement de l'avis de l'observateur, et
tenons tout l'épécule de l'instinct con-
damnable. Car ce personnage ne conçoit
aucun lien ny à la conclusion ny à la supposition
de ce mariage, et ne voit qu'à représenter
une passion malice, et que d'ailleurs tout
peu sentis à une l'âme comme tout est contraire
pour un jeune homme qui n'avait aucune
témoignage au mariage. C'est tout
par que nous ne sommes que tout la
épécule quoy que tout nous sommes tout
par pour cela l'instinct de la l'âme. Mais
nous ne voyons aucun qu'elle ne soit certaine
que dans la l'âme l'épécule, que la l'âme
tique ne les malice que tout l'instinct, et
qu'elle n'en reçoit point de cette malice,

“About, Jerry, in about half an hour, I shall have the satisfaction of it. I shall have it.”

qui durent et regnent par toute la Piece. ⁴⁶	qui	regnent dans.	.....
La plupart de ce que l'Observateur dit en	.....	.....	.....
suite pour appuyer sa Censure, touchant	.....	.....	suite,.....
la liaison des Episodes avec le Sujet prin-	.....	.....	.....sujet,.....
cipal, est pure doctrine d'Aristote et	.....	.....	.....d'Aristote, et
tresconforme au bon sens. Mais nous	.....	.....	tresconforme,.....
sommes bien esloignés de croire avec luy	.....	.....	.....luy,
que D. Sanche soit du nombre de ces per-	.....	.....	.....
sonnes Episodiques qui ne font aucun	.....	.....	.....Episodiques,.....
notable effect dans le Poeme.	.....	.....	effect dans le Poeme.

The minor changes in the unidentified hand (see Introduction, p. 5) are designated by D. With very few exceptions these D variants are identical with E. Accordingly the D readings are printed in the E column, enclosed in parentheses, with the designating letters included to indicate that the enclosed word or phrase was written by D and adopted into the text of the first edition, E.

A	B	CE
Et certes il est malaisé de s'imaginer quelle chose luy a fait prendre une telle opinion, ayant peu remarquer avec chacun que D. Sanche est Rival de D. Rodrigue en l'amour de Chimene; qu'a- pres la mort du Conte il la sert tousjours aupres du Roy pour l'engager à luy vou- loir du bien, et qu'en fin il se bat pour elle contre Rodrigue, et demeure vaincu par luy.	quel sujet il a eu de prendre que pour essayer d'acquiescer ses bonnes graces, Rodrigue.	.....s'imaginer, celle raison il a (C, eue) eue de..... .....Chimene, .....Comte..... .....Roy, .....Rodrigue, (DE, et demeure vaincu).
A	BC	E
Si bien que les actions de D. Sanche sont mises dans toutes les principales du Poeme, et la dernière combat ne se fait simplement afin qu'il	qui est celle du	Poeme, dernière, combat, afin qu'il

A line in the margin includes this passage from: sections, of the preceding sentence, to, four of the one following.

soit batu, comme pretend l'Observateur, mais afin que par le desavantage qu'il y recoit Rodrigue puisse estre purgé de la mort du Conte, et en mesme temps obtenir Chimene. L'Objection semble plus forte contre Arias, lequel sans doute a moins de part dans l'aventure que D. Sanche. Toutesfois on ne peut pas dire raisonnablement que ce personnage y soit aussy peu necessaire que l'Infante. Car en le bannissant il faudroit bannir des Tragedies tous les Conseillers des Princes, et condanner generalement tous les Poetes Anciens et Modernes qui les y ont introduits. Outre que sur la fin il sert de Juge de Camp, lors que les deux Rivaux se battent. Ainsy il ne peut passer pour estre entierement inutile au Sujet comme l'Observateur l'asseure. Il est vray qu'encore *qu'on entende bien ce qui l'ameine* dans la premiere Scene du second Acte, et qu'en cela il ne merite point de Censure, l'Observateur toutesfois ne laisse pas de reprendre avec raison le Poète d'avoir fait que le Roy l'envoie vers le Conte pour le porter à satisfaire l'offensé, au lieu de luy envoyer des gardes pour empescher la suite de cette offense, laquelle vraysemblablement l'engageoit à un combat, et pour l'exiger avec autorité à la reparer par une satisfaction digne de la personne offensée.

..... soit batu,.....
.....
..... recoit,.....
..... Comte,.....
..... L'Objection.....
..... qui.....
..... le Sujet.....
.....
..... absolument.....
..... aussi.....
..... la.....
.....
..... Poètes
..... Modernes,.....
.....
..... de camp,.....
..... Ainsi..... inutile,.....
..... qu'on entende bien ce qui l'ameine
.....
..... selon nostre avis, ne
laisse pas de.....
..... Comte,.....
..... gardes,
.....
.....
.....
..... de puissance absolue
..... avec une.....
..... offensée.

en comparaison dans l'esprit de Chimene; et elle ne devoit point songer à la conservation de l'honneur de Rodrigue, lorsqu'il ne se pouvoit conserver que par la perte de la vie ou de l'honneur du Conte. D'ailleurs si elle avoit jugé Rodrigue digne de son affection, elle ne l'avoit pas creu sans doute un homme lasche, et par conséquent au moins selon la connoissance qu'elle avoit de son courage il avoit plus de merite et faisoit une action plus grande et plus malaisée à faire de sacrifier ses ressentimens à la passion, qu'il avoit pour elle, que s'il les laissoit (B, eust laissé) aller jusqu'où son coeur les vouloit porter. Ainsi du moins envers elle il ne luy auroit point esté honteux, d'obeir au commandement qu'elle luy eust peu faire de ne se point battre, et de ne chercher point à se venger.

Envers la Cour il auroit peu estre qu'il ne luy eust pas esté avantageux de demeurer sans ressentiment apres une telle offense.⁴⁸

Mais une personne aussy interessée qu'elle à desirer qu'il fist cette apparence lascheté, ne devoit point avoir assés de

⁴⁸ This phrase for the cruder: *elle ne l'avoit pas creu sans doute lasche*, of the manuscript; it is probably due to the third marginal note in Richelieu's hand: *Il ne faut point dire cela si absolument*. See plate III.

.....
.....
.....lors qu'il
.....
.....
.....vie,
D'ailleurs,
.....elle l'avoit sans
doute creu genereux,⁴⁷ et.....
.....elle devoit penser,

il eust fait action..... qu'il eust fait (DE, une) action.....
.....(DE, difficile) de sacrifier.....
.....
.....que de les contenter au prejudice de
cette passion mesme. Ainsi cette mesme passion. Ainsi
il..... il ne.....
.....au moins à l'egard de Chimene
d'observer la defence qu'elle..... l'egard de Chimene,
.....de se battre et de
chercher à se venger.

.....C'our peut estre
ne luy eust il.....
.....
.....
.....

la C'our n'en eust pas jugé si favorablement

Mais Chimene ayant tant d'interest
.....en apparence une lascheté,
td,.....alors avoir.....

⁴⁷ A small cross in the margin opposite the line: *la C'our* . . . ne luy eust pas.

a principalement failly, qu'il a fait
entrer sans necessité et sans utilité parmy
la juste crainte de Chimene la considera-
tion de la part qu'elle devoit prendre au
deshonneur de (Chimene) Rodrigue.
Quant à l'Objection suyvante, *qu'elle*
devoit pleurer enfermée chés elle, au lieu
d'aller demander justice nous ne l'approu-
vons point, et croyons que le Poète eust
failly de luy faire verser des larmes
inutiles dans sa chambre, estant mesme si
proche du logis du Roy, où elle pouvoit
obtenir la vengeance du meurtre de son
Pere. Si elle eust perdu un moment à
l'aller demander on eust eu raison de soup-
çonner qu'elle prenoit du temps pour de-
liberer si elle la demanderoit, et qu'ainsy
l'interest de son Amant luy estoit autant
ou plus considerable que celuy de son Pere.
Aussy l'Observateur n'insiste point sur
cette Censure, et sans en vouloir passer
pour l'Autheur^{so} la condanne luy mesme
tacitement. En un mot, soit qu'elle vou-
lust perdre Rodrigue, soit qu'elle ne le
voulust pas, elle estoit tousjours obligée
de tesmoigner qu'elle en avoit l'intention,
et de partir au mesme instant pour le
poursuyvre. Maintenant scavoir si elle
avoit ce desir, c'est une question
qui se vuidera dans la suite; mais en ce
lieu il a esté inutile de la produire
et quoy que l'Observateur

.....
.....utilité,.....
.....Chimene,.....
.....
des-honneur.
.....suyvante qu'elle
devoit pleurer enfermée chés elle, au lieu
d'aller demander justice,.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....eust tardé.....
.....demander,.....soup-
çonner,.....
.....qu'ainsi
.....
.....
Aussi.....(DE, n'insistant).....
.....censure, (DE, semble)
.....la condanner luy-mesme
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....instant,.....
poursuivre.....
.....non,.....
.....Mais.....
.....de la (DE, mettre en
avant),et quelque chose que.....

^{so} A little cross in the margin opposite: *et sans en vouloir passer pour l'Autheur.*

en puisse ailleurs conclurre à son avantage, il n'en conclut rien icy qui luy soit avantageux.

La premiere Scene du troisieme Acte doit estre examinée avec plus d'attention, comme celle qui est attaquée avec le plus d'apparence de justice. Et certes il n'est pas peu estrange que Rodrigue apres avoir tué le Conte vienne dans sa maison de propos deliberé pour voir sa Fille; ne pouvant douter que desormais sa veüë ne luy deust estre en abomination, et que se presenter volontairement à elle en ce lieu ne fust comme tuer son Pere une seconde fois. Ce dessein neantmoins n'est pas ce que nous y trouvons de moins vraysemblable. Car un Amant peut estre agité d'une passion si violente qu'encore qu'il ait fort offensé sa Maistresse il ne pourra pas s'empescher de la voir,

ne fust ce que pour essayer de l'appaiser et de la satisfaire sur la faute qu'il aura commise contre elle. Ce qui nous y semble plus difficile à croire, est que ce mesme Amant sans estre accompagné de per-sonne et sans avoir intelligence avec la Suyvante, entre dans le logis de celuy qu'il vient de tuer, passe jusqu'à la chambre de sa Fille, et ne rencontre aucun des Domestiques qui l'arreste en chemin. Cela toutesfois se pourroit encore excuser sur le trouble où estoit la famille apres la mort du Conte, sur la

.....conclurre,
il n'en.....
.....
.....Acte,
.....
.....avec plus
.....
.....Rodrigue,
.....Comte, aille.....maison,
.....Fille,
.....veüe.....
.....en horreur,
.....en tel lieu,
.....vray-sem-
.....blable.....
.....violente,
.....offensé sa Maistresse,
.....ou pour se conten-
ter luy mesme ou pour essayer de luy
faire satisfaction de la.....faute,
.....per-
.....sonne,.....avoir alors.....
.....suyvante,
.....de ses domestiques.....
.....trouble,
.....Comte,
.....sur l'obscurité de la

A

BC

E

nuît qui empeschoit de reconnoistre ceux
qui vraysemblablement venoient en ce
logis pour assister Chimene dans son af-
fliction, et sur l'inconsideration d'un
Amant qui suit aveuglement sa pas-
sion sans vouloir regarder les inconveniens
qui s'en peuvent ensuyvre. Choses que le
Poëte pour sa descharge auroit peu faire
insinuer par Rodrigue, dans le discours
qu'il a avec Elvire

sans les laisser deviner au
Spectateur, et mesme laisser douter si elles
luy sont venues en la pensée. Mais ce
qui nous en semble inexcusable est que
Rodrigue vienne ches sa Maistresse, non
pas pour luy demander pardon de ce qu'il
a esté contraint de faire pour mettre son
honneur à couvert, mais pour luy en de-
mander la punition de sa main. Car s'il
croyoit l'avoir meritée, et qu'en effect il
fust venu en ce lieu à dessein de mourir
pour luy satisfaire, il ne devoit point
s'imaginer serieusement que

.....
..... chés
Chimene pour l'assister dans
..... l'imprudence naturelle aux
Amants qui suivent aveuglement leur pas-
sion.....
..... en peuvent arriver. Et en effect nous
serions aucunement satisfaits si le Poëte
pour sa descharge avoit fait couler (B, a-
droitement) dans le discours que Rodrigue
tient à Elvire quelques unes de ces con-
siderations.....
Spectateur;

Mais ce
..... inexcusable
..... chés
..... pour son honneur,
mais.....
.....
..... lieu,
..... puis qu'il n'y avoit point
d'apparence de..... serieusement,...

nuît,..... connoistre.....
..... vraysemblablement.....
Chimene,.....
.....
Amants,..... aveuglement leurs pas-
sions,..... inconveniens,
.....
..... satisfaits,.....
..... descharge,..... couler,
dans.....
..... Elvire, quelques-unes..... con-
siderations,.....
Spectateur.

.....
..... inexcusable
..... chés
.....
.....
..... lieu,
..... puis qu'il n'y avoit point
d'apparence de..... serieusement,...

A

B

C

E

Chimene voulust prendre
cette vengeance par elle
mesme, ny la voyant resoluë à
ne le tuer point, differer
à se donner luy mesme le coup
qu'elle luy auroit si raisonna-
blement refusé.

.....
..... de sa main
propre,.....
ne la recevoir point,.....
.....
.....

..... se resolut à.....
.....
propre,
ny differer
.....
.....
.....

..... faire
..... avec ses mains
propres,
il ne devoit point differer
..... luy-mesme.....
.....

A	B	CE
C'est monstrier évidemment qu'il ne voudrait pas mourir, que de prendre un si mauvais expédient pour mourir, et de ne s'aviser pas que la mort qu'il se fust donnée de sa main, dans les ter- mes d'Amant, et d'Amant de theatre, comme elle luy eust esté plus facile, luy eust esté aussi plus glorieuse.	C'a esté monstrier mourir, obtenu de sa propre main, il eust mes d'Amant, et d'Amant de theatre, comme elle luy eust esté plus facile, luy eust esté aussi plus glorieuse.	(DE, C'estoit) .. (C, d'eslire) de prendre donnée luy-mesme, dans, se fust d'Amant de theatre, aussi
A	BC	E
Il pouvoit bien luy demander la mort, mais il ne la pouvoit pas esperer, et se la voyant refusée il ne se devoit point retirer de sa présence sans faire au moins quelque demonstration de se la vouloir donner, et prevenir, en apparence celle qu'il dit assés laschement s'en aller attendre de la main du bourreau. Nous estimons donc que cette Scene, et la quatriesme du mes- me Acte, qui en est une suite, sont princi- palement defectueuses en ce que Rodrigue va chés Chimene dans l'imagination peu raisonnable de recevoir par sa main la pu- nition de son crime, et en ce que ne l'ayant pas obtenué d'elle il ayme mieux la rece- voir par la main du ministre de la Justice que par la sienne propre. Que s'il eust esté aussi bien vers Chimene dans la re- solution de mourir à ses yeux en quelque sorte que ce peust estre, comme ces deux	C'a esté monstrier mourir, obtenu de sa propre main, il eust mes d'Amant, et d'Amant de theatre, comme elle luy eust esté plus facile, luy eust esté aussi plus glorieuse.	(DE, C'estoit) .. (C, d'eslire) de prendre donnée luy-mesme, dans, se fust d'Amant de theatre, aussi

¹¹ This last phrase is changed again to: *se l'a devoir à luy mesme*, then to the form given in E

Scenes sont fort belles pour tout ce qu'elles contien- nent de pathetique, ce que nous y trouvons à redire dans la conduite seroit sinon fort regulier au moins fort supportable.	ces deux Scenes ne seroient pas seulement fort belles pour.....mais encore la.....	(DE, non seulement) ces deux Scenes seroient fort belles,.....mais encore que (DE, ce qui manque à) la conduite, .....regulier,.....
Quant à ce qui suit nous tombons d'ac- cord qu'il eust esté plus seant que Chimene en cette occasion eust eu quelques Dames de ses amies aupres d'elle pour la consoler.	.....suit,.....d'ac- cord,.....(DE, bien) seant que Chimene, .....occasion,..... .....auprés.....	.....suit,.....d'ac- cord,.....(DE, bien) seant que Chimene, .....occasion,..... .....auprés.....
Mais comme cette assistance eust empesché ce qui se passe dans les Scenes suyvantes nous ne croyons pas aussy qu'elle fust necessaire absolu- ment. Car une personne autant affligée que Chimene pouvoit aussy tost desirer la solitude que souffrir la com- pagnie. Et ce qu'Elvire dit qu'elle revien- dra du Palais bien accompagnée ne donne point de lieu à la contradiction que pretend l'Observateur; pource que revenir accom- pagnée n'est pas demeurer accompagnée, et supposé qu'elle voulust demeurer seule il n'y a pas d'apparence que ceux qui l'au- roient reconduite du Palais chés elle y voulussent passer la nuit contre sa volonté.	(B, que de n'en avoir pas)..... .....suyvantes,..... .....aussi..... .....personne,..... .....l'estoit Chimene,.....aussi..... .....solitude,.....dit,..... .....accompagnée,..... .....que,.....accompagnée;.. .....seule, .....reconduite.....elle,.. .....entendre, .....là,..... .....Spectateur,..... .....nous estimons.....et que	Mais,..... .....suyvantes,..... .....aussi..... .....personne,..... .....l'estoit Chimene,.....aussi..... .....solitude,.....dit,..... .....accompagnée,..... .....que,.....accompagnée;.. .....seule, .....reconduite.....elle,.. .....entendre, .....là,..... .....Spectateur,..... .....nous estimons.....et que
Mais c'estoient encore une de ces choses que le Poëte devoit adroittement faire entendre pour lever tout scrupule de ce costé la et ne donner pas la peine au Spectateur de la suppleer pour luy. Ce qui nous semble de plus reprehensible en ce lieu, et que l'Observateur n'a pas voulu reprendre, est	.....c'est..... afin de.....et de.....Ce que nous y estimons reprehensible, et que	.....entendre, .....là,..... .....Spectateur,..... .....nous estimons.....et que

qu'Elvire n'ait point suivi Chimene au logis du Roy, et que Chimene en revienne avec D. Sanche, sans aucunes femmes.	..... .....en soit revenue	qu'Elvire,.....suivy..... ..... .....revenue
A		
La troisieme et quatrieme Scene contre lesquelles l'Observateur a fait tout son effort nous passent pour fort belles aux choses pres que nous y avons remarquées pour le gros de la conduite.	B..........nous..... .....si l'on excepte les choses que.....	CE..........nous semblent fort belles, .....excepte ce que..... .....remarqué(,) touchant la conduite.
A		
Les pointes et les traits dont elles sont semées la plupart ont leur source dans la nature de la chose qui s'y traite, et nous trouvons que dans le detail Rodrigue n'y fait qu'une faute lorsqu'il dit à Chimene avec tant de rudesse qu'il ne se repent point d'avoir tué son Pere, au lieu de s'en excuser avec humilité, sur l'obligation qu'il avoit de venger l'honneur du sien. Nous trouvons aussy que Chimene n'y en fait qu'une de ne tenir pas ferme dans la belle resolution de perdre Rodrigue et de mourir apres luy, et de se relascher jusqu'à dire qu'elle souhaite de ne pouvoir rien contre luy. Elle pouvoit confesser à Elvire et à Rodrigue mesme qu'elle avoit une violente passion pour luy, mais elle leur devoit dire en	BC..........semées pour la plupart ont ²²..........chose, Rodrigue.....que.....faute notable..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... .....qu'une mais qui est grande ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... .....(D, eât peu).....	E..........semées,..... ..... ..... .....notable, lors qu'il.....rudesse,..... ..... ..... ..... .....aussi..... .....qu'une,.....grande, ..... .....de.....Rodrigue,..... .....dire (DE, que dans la poursuite qu'elle fait de sa mort, elle) .....de ne (DE, rien) pouvoir. Elle eust peu.....Elvire,..... .....mesme,.....

²² This *ont* is cancelled, then rewritten between the lines.

celle des Roys d'Espagne d'à present, et ne laisser pas de contenir à un besoin mille gentilshommes, ayant principalement la guerre continue avec les Mores, ainsi que peu apres l'Observateur mesme le dit. Et quoy qu'il soit vray comme il le remarque fort bien que ces amis de Rodrigue estoient plustost assemblés par le Poete contre les Mores que contre le Conte, nous croyons que n'y ayant nulle repugnance qu'ils soient employés contre tous les deux, le Poète seroit plustost digne de louange que de blasme, d'avoir inventé cette Assemblée de gens en apparence contre le Conte, et en effect contre les Mores. Car une des beautés du Poème Dramatique est lors que ce qui a esté imaginé et introduit pour y faire un effect, s'y trouve à la fin employé pour en faire un autre. ⁵⁵ contenir principalement en un temps où il y avoit guerre. ainsi. vray, bien, que ces cinq cens amis de Rodrigue estoient plustost assemblés par le Poète contre les Mores que contre le Comte, louange. assemblée de gens, Comte, Poeme Dramatique, chose, (DE, serve) à la fin. (C, d'à) de d'estre composée, à un besoin, ⁵⁴ de gentils-hommes, guerre. avec. ainsi. vray, bien, que ces cinq cens amis de Rodrigue estoient plustost assemblés par le Poète contre les Mores que contre le Comte, louange. assemblée de gens, Comte, Poeme Dramatique, chose, (DE, serve) à la fin.	
La premiere Scene du quatriesme Acte nous semble reprise sans fondement, s'il est vray que l'amour de Chimene pour Rodrigue ny l'inquietude qu'il luy cause, ne soient pas ce qu'il y a de blasmable en elle, mais seulement le tesmoignage qu'elle donne en quelques autres lieux du Poeme que son amour l'emporte sur son devoir. Car en celuy cy le contraire paroist, et l'agitation de ses pensées finit comme elle doit finir. est que pour une chose à la fin serve pour une autre. avec peu de fondement, puisqu'il est vray que ny l'amour Chimene a ny ne sont pas de reprehensible. donne, Poeme, Or celuy-cy doit. ny donne, Poeme, celuy-cy doit.

“ The phrase, *à un beso*, is cancelled in the manuscript and not rewritten. The italicization (underlining) is not cancelled in C; and in the passage just below, the number *cinq cents* does not occur in the manuscript. “ This last sentence is included in a line drawn in the margin.

ordres, que non pas qu'il perist faute d'en avoir donné aucun. Si bien qu'encore que par la l'objection demeure nulle, il nous semble neantmoins qu'elle eust esté bonne et solide dans la sixiesme Scene du second Acte, où il y avoit lieu de reprocher à Fernand avec beaucoup de justice, qu'il estoit un mauvais gardien de places, de negliger ainsy les bons avis qui luy estoient donnés, et de prendre le party le moins assuré dans une nouvelle qui luy pouvoit importer son entiere ruine.	A	Ce qui suit est encore une de ces objections par laquelle l'on reprend ce qui n'est pas à reprendre, bien qu'au mesme lieu il y eust raison de trouver à redire.	Ce qui suit auroit este une reprehension fort juste si Seville eust esté sur la coste, et qu'elle eust eu un port comme Marseille si estroit à l'emboucheure, et qu'une chaisne l'eust peu clorre aisement; ce qu'il semble aussy que l'Autheur estime disant en un lieu <i>les Mores et la mer entrèrent dans le port</i> et en un autre distinguant <i>le fleuve du port, et la terre el le fleuve et leur flotte et le port</i> . Mais Seville estant assés avant dans terre ⁶⁷	B	Ce qui suit Ce qui suit du mauvais soin que D. Fernand avoit eu de tenir le port fermé avec une chaisne, estoit une reprehension.....si..........et si.....d'emboucheure, ..... ..... .....faisant dire..... ..... ..... .....Et...	BB	Ce qui suit du mauvais soin que D. Fernand avoit eu de tenir le port fermé avec une chaisne, estoit une reprehension.....si..........et si.....d'emboucheure, ..... ..... .....faisant dire..... ..... ..... .....Et...	CElà.....nulle, en ce lieu, ..... .....Acte; ..... .....sçavoit..... .....ainsi..... .....assuré,.....nouvelle, .....ruine.
--	----------	---	--	----------	--	-----------	---	-----------	---

17 A cross in the margin opposite this sentence.

seulement un abord de vaisseaux, sur la riviere de Guadalquivir, à dix lieues loin de son emboucheure, l'Observateur auroit peu blâmer l'Authheur d'appeller port ce qui ne l'estoit proprement pas, et l'Authheur auroit peu respondre, à ce qu'il luy reproche de n'avoir point fait fermer *le port*, *que* ces sortes de havres qui sont formés par les rivieres ne se ferment point avec des chaines, à cause de leur trop grande largeur, comme on le voit à Bordeaux, à Nantes et à Rouen. Mais il semble que ny l'un ny l'autre n'ayent point sceu la situation de Seville, et qu'ils se la soient imaginée sur la coste de l'Ocean.

sur le Guadalquivir
et n'ayant pour havre que la riviere

laquelle ne se
peut fermer d'une chaisne
.....sa.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

.....que le
Gaudalquivir

qui ne se
peut commodement fermer
d'une chaisne, non plus que
celles de Bordeaux, de Nantes,
ny(et)de Rouen, à cause de leur
grande largeur,

on peut dire qu'il suffisoit
que Rodrigue fist la garde au
port, et qu'en ce lieu l'Observateur
desire une chose impossible,
quoy que l'Authheur luy
en ait donné sujet par son
expression.

.....
Guadalquivir,

qui ne se
.....commodément.....
.....chaisne
.....à.....sa
.....

.....que c'estoit assés
.....
.....peu possible,.....
.....
.....

LES SENTIMENTS

A

Pour le reste nous croyons que le Poète
a peu faire ancrer la flotte des Mores afin
que leur descente se fist avec ordre et sans
confusion; parce qu'en cas de retraite

B

.....que la flotte
des Mores a peu ancrer afin
.....ordre,
parce.....

CE

.....reste,.....
.....ancrer,.....
.....ordre;
.....retraite,

si elle eust esté si précipitée qu'ils n'eus-
sent pas eu le loysir de lever les ancrés,
ils en eussent esté quittes pour les laisser,
et en coupant les cables, où ils estoient
attachés, ils se mettoient en estat de la
faire avec autant de prontitude que s'ils
ne les cussent point jettées. Ainsy
avec peu de difference¹⁰ Virgile en fait
user à Enée lors qu'il luy fait couper
le cable qui tenoit son vaisseau attaché au
rivage plustost que de l'envoyer detacher,
dans la crainte qu'il avoit qu'en retardant
un peu sa sortie du port, Didon qu'il a-
bandonnoit n'eust assés de temps pour le
retenir par force dans Carthage.

La cinquieme Scene
est reprise avec beaucoup de
sujet, non seulement, comme dit l'Obser-
vateur, pource que le Roy y fait un per-
sonnage au dessous de sa dignité, et moins
serieux qu'on ne le devoit attendre de son
aage,

faisant accroire à
Chimene que Rodrigue estoit mort au
combat,

mais encore pour ce qu'il

¹⁰ A star in the margin opposite this line: *eussent point* *difference*.

.....si pressée.....
.....loisir.....
.....(C, leurs) les cables,
.....
faire,.....
.....ainsi,..
.....difference,
qu'Enée en use, quand il (C,coupe) coupe
le cable,.....
rivage,.....avoit,.....
.....
.....
.....

Pour.....Scene, il nous semble
qu'elle peut estre justement reprise. Mais
ce n'est pas absolument,.....per-
sonnage moins
serieux, qu'on ne devoit attendre de sa
dignité et de son aage, lors que pour recon-
noistre le sentiment de Chimene, il luy
asseure.....est.....
combat. Car cela se pourroit bien def-
fendre, par l'exemple de plusieurs grands
Princes, qui n'ont pas fait difficulté d'user
de feintise dans leurs jugemens, quand ils
ont voulu decouvrir une verité cachée.
Nous tenons cette Scene principalement

A	BC	E
avoit de l'affection pour luy, mais qu'elle luy seroit agreable, puisque son devoir l'obligeoit à la desirer, et que maintenant elle n'avoit plus rien à desirer que la mort, apres avoir obtenu des ennemis ce que la justice Royale sembloit ne luy vouloir pas accorder.	.....estoit..... l'avoit obligée à la poursuyvre,.....que le tombeau,..... .....(B, la justice du Roy) le Roy..... .....	.....puis que..... .....poursuivre;..... .....des Mores,.. ce que le Roy.....
A	B	CE
Quant à l'ordonnance de Fernand pour faire espouser Chimene à celuy de ses deux Amans qui sortiroit vainqueur du combat, elle ne scauroit passer que pour tres injuste, et Chimene fait une tresgrande faute de ne refuser pas ouvertement d'y obeir. Rodrigue luy mesme n'eust osé penser à en faire la proposition, et ce combat ne luy pouvoit raisonnablement servir qu'à luy faire obtenir l'abolition pour la mort du Conte. Que si le Roy le vouloit recompenser du grand service qu'il venoit de luy rendre, il falloit que ce fust du sien, et non pas d'une chose que les loix de la Nature avoient mise hors de sa puissance. En tout cas s'il luy vouloit faire espouser Chimene il falloit qu'il employast envers elle la persuasion plustost que le commandement. Or cette ordonnance precipitée et desraisonnable est d'autant plus digne de blame qu'elle fait le Desnouement de la Piece, et pource qu'elle est injuste et peu vraysemblable elle le fait contre l'art et mauvais.	.....pour le mariage de Chimene avec celuy..... ..... .....et elle fait (C, ne face) une..... ..... .....Rodrigue, luy-mesme..... jusques la ses pretensions,.....ne pouvoit servir..... .....re- connoistre.....d'en recevoir,..... .....qui n'estoit point à luy et..... ..... ..... .....Chimene,..... .....persuasion,..... .....et precipitée,..... .....vray-semblable, est..... .....blasme,..... .....Desnouement.....et qu'elle..... .....mauvais,.....	.....Chimene,..... .....on ne scauroit nier qu'elle ne soit tres-in- que, et que Chimene ne face une tres-grande faute, de..... Rodrigue, luy-mesme..... jusques-là.....de.....re- pouvoit (C, as in B) servir au plus qu'à.....Comte..... compenser..... .....luy,.. .....cas,..... .....Chimene,..... .....persuasion,..... .....et precipitée,..... .....vray-semblable, est..... .....blasme,..... .....Desnouement.....et qu'elle..... .....mauvais,.....

au contraire y abandonne tout ce qui luy
restoît de pudeur, et
pour contenter sa passion, sans se souvenir
de son devoir, persuade clairement Rodri-
gue de tuer, ou de vaincre au moins, celui
qui s'exposoit volontairement à la mort
pour sa querelle, et qu'elle avoit accepté
pour son défenseur. Et ce qui la rend
plus blasmable encore est qu'elle ne l'ex-
horte pas tant à bien combattre pour la
crainte qu'il ne meure, que pour l'espe-
rance de l'espouser s'il ne mourroit point.
Je^o laisse à part l'ingratitude et l'inhu-
manité qu'elle fait paroistre en sollicitant
la mort de D. Sanche; qui sont de
mauvaises conditions pour un principal
personnage. Cette Scene donc a tout
le desfault qu'elle scauroit avoir con-
siderée comme
partie essentielle de ce Poeme.

..... contraire,.....
..... et oubliant son devoir
pour..... passion,
persuade..... Rodri-
gue de vaincre celui ..
.....
.....
.....
.....
..... encore,
..... combattre,.....
.....
.....
Nous laissons.....
..... paroistre,.....
le deshonneur..... D. Sanche,.....
..... qualités.....
..... toute
l'imperfection..... si l'on en
considere^o la matiere comme faisant une
..... matiere,.....
.....

Mais en recompense la passion
considerée
à part et detachée du Sujet,
nous y semble fort bien tou-
chée et conduite,
et les expressions en sont
dignes de beaucoup de louange.

..... recompense, la
considerant
..... part,..... sujet,
elle la passion qu'elle contient
nous semble..... tou-
..... et fort bien conduite, chée,.....
..... expressions
..... louange.

^o This is the only case in the manuscript in which the first personal pro-
noun appears, with the exception of a: *je ne sais quoy* in the Preamble. It
was a *lapsus calami*, interesting for the suggestion it offers of the independent

way in which Chapelain first accomplished the Academy's task. It is very
carefully concealed under a *Nô*, written with very heavy strokes.
^o In the first revision this phrase read: *si l'on considere sa matiere*.

s'estonnent que ce D. Sanche	peuvent assés estonner.....	.....
ne l'esclaircisse pas	.....du succes de son	.....succés.....
combat avec une parole,	.....laquelle il luy	.....
pouvoit bien dire, puisqu'il luy peut bien	.....	.....puis qu'il.....
demander audience deux ou trois fois pour	.....	.....fois,.....
l'en esclaircir. A quoy l'on peut adjous-	.....	.....
ter qu'il y a beaucoup d'injustice dans le	.....	.....
transport de Chimene contre luy, qui ne	.....qui	.....
l'ayant servie	l'avoit servie et obligée;	.....obligée,
sentiment, et que si elle eust fait paroistre	et.....	.....
sa douleur avec plus de tendresse et de	.....	.....douleur,.....
civilité, elle eust plus excité de compassion	.....	.....
que	par ses violences. Et	.....
d'ailleurs il y pourroit avoir encore à redire	D'ailleurs.....	qu'elle (DE. ne fait) par.....redire,
à ce que le Poëte luy ayant fait promettre	à ce	D'ailleurs,.....
solennellement d'espouser celuy qui la ven-	.....	.....
geroit de Rodrigue, maintenant qu'elle	.....	.....
croit que D. Sanche l'en a vengée, elle	.....	.....
tranche si net	qu'elle ne tiendra	.....
point sa parole, et le paye d'injures lors-	point parole,.....(B, d'injures pour	.....d'injures et
qu'elle luy doit des remercimens; au lieu	des remercimens) d'injures; au...	de refus;
de se plaindre de sa mauvaise fortune qui	.....	.....
luy a ravy par son propre ministere celuy	.....	.....
qu'elle pouvoit aymer, et qui la livre	.....	qu'elle (DE, aymoit),.....
par sa propre faute à celuy qu'elle ne pou-	à celuy.....pou-	.....
voit que hair.	voit souffrir.	.....
A	B	CE
Dans la sixiesme Scene, où elle avoue	.....	.....
au Roy qu'elle ayme Rodrigue, nous ne la	.....	.....
blamons pas, comme fait l'Observateur,	.....	blasmons.....l'Observateur
de ce qu'elle l'avoué, maintenant qu'elle	.....l'avoué,	.....l'avoue,
l'estime mort, mais de ce que contre ce	croyant mort, mais de ce qu'oubliant la	mais.....
qu'elle avoit proposé de faire	resolution qu'elle avoit faite	faite, dans la

pour sa plus grande gloire, elle semble avoir voulu dissimuler jusques alors son affection,et par consequent l'avoir jugée criminelle. Par cette inegalité de Chimene le Poëte fait douter s'il a connu l'importance de ce qu'il luy avoit fait dire luy-mesme dans la quatriesme Scene du troisieme Acte, et laisse soupçonner qu'il ait mis cette genereuse pensée dans sa bouche plustost comme une fleur non necessaire, que comme la plus essentielle chose qui servist à la constitution de son Sujet. ⁶⁵		de ne point celer sa passion..... dans la 4. Sc. du 3. Acte, l'avoir..... jusqu'a-lors, et..... Chimene,..... voyant que je l'adore et que je le poursuis; et..... poursuis. Et..... bouche,..... chose,..... sujet.		quatriesme Scene du troisieme Acte, ⁶⁴ de..... passion,..... gloire,..... Chimene,..... luy-mesme, Voyant..... l'adore,..... poursuis. Et..... bouche,..... chose,..... sujet.	
Dans la suyvante nous trouvons que la faute de Chimene est bien plus grande, en ce' que sans autre raison que celle de son amour, elle consent à l'injuste ordonnance de Fernand, c'est à dire à espouser celuy qui avoit tué son Pere.		..... qu'il luy fait faire une faute bien plus remarquable, Et la cause de la.....		..... suivante. Le Poëte voulant que ce Poëme finist heureusement, pour suivre.....Tragicomedie, fait encore en cet endroit que Chimene foule.....	
La faute du Poete est en ce que pour faire finir cette Piece par une fin heureuse, suyvant les regles de la Tragicomedie, il fait que Chimene viole et foule aux pieds celles que la Nature a establies ⁶⁶ en nous, et dont le mespris et la transgression donnent egalement de l'horreur aux ignorans et aux habiles.		..... et..... doivent donner de Nature a establies.		..... Pere.	
Quant au Theatre		BC		E	
personne ne		.....il n'y a personne à		.....Theatre,.....	

⁶⁴ In C the numbers are retained: 4. Scene du 3. Acte.
⁶⁵ A line in the margin includes this whole paragraph.

⁶⁶ A line in the margin opposite the four lines: que pour finir . . . la Nature a establies.

scauroit nier qu'il ne soit mal entendu dans ce Poème, et qu'une mesme Scene n'y represente plusieurs lieux.

Defaut qui se trouve en la pluspart de nos Pieces, et auquel il semble que la negligence des Poètes ait accoustumé les Spectateurs. Mais celuy qui est l'Autheur de cellecy, et qui s'est mis si à l'estroit pour y faire rencontrer l'unité du jour,⁶⁷ devoit bien aussy s'efforcer pour y faire rencontrer celle du lieu, laquelle n'est en rien moins necessaire que l'autre, et faute d'estre observée avec soin produit dans l'esprit des Spectateurs beaucoup plus de confusion, et d'obscurité.

En suite l'Observateur descouvre la cause principale qui l'a engagé à cette censure du Cid. Au moins le jugeons nous ainsy non seulement par les aigreurs et les railleries dont il a semé son Ouvrage mais encore par ce qu'il dit vers la fin que la reputation commune de ceux qui font des vers luy a mis les armes à la main pour la proteger contre l'usurpation de ce Tiran de la Poésie. En effect il nous paroist que passant entre les premiers de

⁶⁷ A light line in the margin extends from the beginning of the paragraph to the phrase: *l'unité du jour*. The C reading, *s'estant mis*, was preceded by a tentative: *qui s'est mis*.

⁶⁸ This is the paragraph which was cancelled, probably at the time of the Cardinal's first examination of Chapelain's effort see Introduction p. 9

qui il ne soit evident qu'il est.....

.....

Scene (B, y) represente.....

Defaut que l'on Poemes

.....

dramatiques, et.....

.....

..... Mais l'Autheur

..... s'estant mis.....

.....

..... d'y faire.....

..... est bien au-

tant.....

.....

..... autant ou plus.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Il est vray que c'est un defaut.....

.....

Dramatiques,.....

.....

.....

..... celuy-cy,..... l'estroit,.....

.....

..... aussi.....

..... qui est.....

.....

..... soin,.....

.....

confusion et.....

There appears to have been no general revision of this passage. The major portion of it shows no variants whatever. The few minor changes toward the end, shown in column AA, were probably made before the manuscript was first presented to the Academy's patron. See plate VII.

cette profession il n'a peu souffrir que cette Piece ait eu tant d'applaudissement sans essayer de monstre que cette ap- probation extraordinaire n'estoit pas plus juste pour estre presque generale. En quoy bien que nous eussions desiré qu'il eust monstre plus de moderation, nous l'en trouvons toutesfois d'autant moins blasmable que ses Observations ne sont pas tousjours mal fondées, et que l'Au- theur auroit eu besoin qu'il l'eust assés aymé pour les luy communiquer avant que de mettre son ouvrage sous la presse. Nous l'en trouvons encore d'autant moins blasmable qu'il n'estoit pas hors de propos que la vanité à laquelle le Poète s'estoit laissé emporter fust un peu mortifiée, et qu'ayant usé peu modestement de sa bonne fortune il se trovast quelqu'un assés interessé à son humiliation pour ne le luy pas pardonner de s'estre si fort es- levé au dessus des autres. En fin nous trouvons que cet insulte bien que fait en colere et en desordre n'est pas entierement inutile, et qu'il pourra au moins servir de frein à ceux qui se laissent aller trop faci- lement aux flatteries de l'amour propre, et qui sont trop enclins à s'enfler de leurs bons succes.

A

A l'examen de ce que l'Observateur appelle Conduite succede celuy de la Ver-

.....se rencontrast.....
.....abaissement^o.....
luy pardonner pas.....
.....
.....n'est pas
inutile,.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

BC

.....
.....Conduite,.....

E

^o *Abaissement* is written above *humiliation*, which, however, is not crossed out. See plate VII.

REMARQUES

SUR LES VERS

ACTE I

SCENE PREMIERE

*Entre tous ces Amans dont la jeune ferveur,*⁷²

Ce mot de *ferveur*, est plus propre pour la devotion que pour l'amour, mais supposé qu'il fust aussi bon en cet endroit qu'*ardeur* ou *desir*, *jeune* s'accorderoit fort bien, contre l'avis de l'Observateur.

*Ce n'est pas que Chimene escoute leurs soupirs,
Ou d'un regard propice anime leurs desirs.*

La remarque de l'Observateur n'est pas considerable, qui juge qu'il falloir dire, *ou que d'un regard propice elle anime*, etc., par ce que ces deux vers contiennent pas deux sens differends, pour obliger à dire, *ou qu'elle anime*.

Elle n'oste à pas un ny donne d'esperance.

Il falloit, *ny ne donne*, et l'omission de ce *ne*, avec la transposition de *pas un*, qui devoit estre à la fin, font que la phrase n'est pas Françoise.⁷⁴

*Don Rodrigue sur tout, n'a trait en son visage,
Qui d'un homme de cœur ne soit la haute image.* v. 29-30.

C'est une hyperbole excessive de dire que chaque trait d'un visage soit une Image et *haute*, n'est pas un epithete propre en ce lieu; outre que *sur tout* est mal placé, ce qui l'a fait paroistre bas à l'Observateur.⁷⁵

(Tant qu'a duré sa force), *a passé pour merveille.* v. 34.

Cette facon de parler a esté mal reprise par l'Observateur.⁷⁶

Ses rides sur son front ont gravé ses exploits. v. 35.

Les rides marquent les années, mais ne gravent point les exploits.⁷⁷

⁷² The first verse of the early editions. Scudéry declared that to speak of *le jeune ferveur*, was to speak François en Allemand, que de donner de la jeunesse à la ferveur; cette Epithete n'est pas à son lieu. Et fort improprement nous dirions, ma jeune peine ma jeune douleur ma jeune inquietude ma jeune crainte et mille autres semblables termes impropres. This whole first edition was rewritten in later editions of the *Cid*, perhaps on account of the Academy's contention that it was improper to allow an humble character like Elvire to open the tragedy. See p. 50.

⁷³ These are verses five and six of the early editions. Scudéry maintained that the construction demanded, *ni que d'un regard propice elle anime leurs desirs*.

⁷⁴ This is verse eight of the early editions. It was not criticized by Scudéry.

⁷⁵ Scudéry made no comment upon these verses in his verse criticisms, nor have I been able to find elsewhere in his *Observations* anything to justify the Academy's allusion at the end of this Remark. The verses were retained.

⁷⁶ Scudéry: Il falloit dire *a passé pour une merveille*. The verse remained unchanged.

⁷⁷ Not criticized by Scudéry. The verse remained unchanged.

L'heure à présent m'appelle au conseil qui s'assemble.

A présent est bas et inutile, comme a remarqué l'Observateur, et qui *s'assemble*, n'est pas inutile comme il a creu.⁷⁸

SCENE SECONDE

Et que tout se dispose à leurs contentemens.

Il eust esté mieux à leur contentement.⁷⁹

Deux mots dont tous vos sens doivent estre charmés.

Cela est mal repris par l'Observateur, par ce qu'en Poésie tous les sens signifient le sens interieur, c'est à dire de l'ame, et que dans une extreme joye les sens extérieurs mesmes sont comme charmés.⁸⁰

Puis-je à de tels discours donner quelque croyance?

Il valloit mieux dire, à ce discours, car n'ayant dit que *deux mots*, on ne peut pas dire qu'elle ait fait des discours.⁸¹

SCENE TROISIEME (seconde)

L'informer avec soin comme va son amour. v. 64.⁸²

L'Observateur a bien repris cet endroit. Il falloit dire *vous informer d'elle*.⁸³

Madame toutefois (parmi leurs bons succès). v. 71.

En cet emistiche *toutefois* est mal placé.⁸⁴

mets la main sur mon cœur,

Et voy comme il se trouble, au nom de son vainqueur. v. 83-84.

En tout cet endroit le nom de Rodrigue n'a point esté prononcé. Elle

⁷⁸ Scudéry. Ce mot d'à présent, est trop bas pour les vers; et qui s'assemble est superflu, il suffisoit de dire, l'heure m'appelle au Conseil. This verse is one of eight which were rewritten; it corresponds to verse 39 of the final editions of the *Cid* which reads: 39. *Il allait au conseil, dont l'heure qui pressait*—(var. *dont l'heure qu'il pressait*.)

⁷⁹ Not criticized by Scudéry. It was the second verse of the second scene in the first edition. It was rejected when Corneille made over the two scenes into one.

⁸⁰ Scudéry. Il n'est point *vray* qu'une bonne nouvelle charme tous les sens, puis que la Veue, l'Odorat, le Goust ni l'Attouchement, n'y peuvent avoir aucune part. Cette figure qui fait prendre une partie pour le tout, et qui chez les sçavants s'appelle *Synecdoche*, est icy trop hyperbolyque. Compare with this verse, which was the fifth in the second scene of the first edition, verse 3 of later editions. *Tous mes sens à moi-même en sont encor charmés*.

⁸¹ Not criticized by Scudéry. This verse seems to correspond to the two following (9-10) of later editions.

*Apprends-moi de nouveau quel espoir j'en dois prendre;
En si charmant discours ne se peut trop entendre.*

⁸² From this point on the verse numbers will be those of Marty-Lavoaux. After the edition of 1664 when the first two scenes were combined in one, this became the second scene.

⁸³ Scudéry. Il devoit y avoir, . . . vous informer (et non pas l'informer) comme quoy va son amour, et non pas comme va son amour. The verse was changed to *Demander en quel point se trouve son amour*.

⁸⁴ Not criticized by Scudéry. The verse was not changed.

veut peut-être entendre son nom par *ce jeune Chevalier*, mais il le désigne seulement, et ne le nomme pas.⁸⁵

Mais je n'en veux point suivre où ma gloire s'engage. v. 97.

Ce dernier mot net dit pas assez pour signifier, *ma gloire court fortune*.⁸⁶

A pousser des soupirs, pour ce que je desdaigne. v. 118.

Desdaigne, dit trop pour sa passion, car en effet elle l'estimoit. Elle vouloit dire, *pour ce que je devrois desdaigner*.⁸⁷

(Cet hymen m'est fatal), *je le crains et souhaite.* v. 121.

L'usage veut que l'on répète l'article *le*, d'autant plus que les deux verbes sont de signification fort différente, et qu'autrement le mot de *souhaite*, sans l'article, fait attendre quelque chose en suite.⁸⁸

Ma gloire et mon amour ont tous deux tant d'appas

Que je meurs s'il s'achève, et ne s'achève pas. v. 123-124

Le premier vers ne s'entend point, et le second est bien repris par l'Observateur. Il falloit, *s'il s'achève, et s'il ne s'achève pas*: parce que cet, *et*, conjoint ce qui se doit séparer.⁸⁹

(Elle rendra le calme) *à vos esprits flottans.* v. 131.

L'Observateur a mal repris cet endroit, pour ce que les passions sont comme des vents qui agitent l'esprit, et donnent lieu à la métaphore; et quant au pluriel *esprits*, il se peut fort bien mettre en Poésie pour signifier, *l'esprit*.⁹⁰

Pour souffrir la vertu si long temps au supplice. v. 134.

Cette expression n'est pas achevée. On ne dit point *souffrir quelqu'un au supplice*, mais bien *souffrir que quelqu'un soit au supplice*; outre qu'*estre au supplice*, laisse une fâcheuse image en l'esprit.⁹¹

Ma plus douce espérance est de perdre l'espérance. v. 135

Ce vers est beau, et l'Observateur l'a mal repris, pource qu'elle ne pouvoit rien espérer de plus avantageux pour sa guérison, que de voir Rodrigue tellement lié à Chimène, qu'elle n'eût plus lieu d'espérer sa possession.⁹²

⁸⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verses left unchanged.

⁸⁶ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse left unchanged.

⁸⁷ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse left unchanged.

⁸⁸ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse left unchanged.

⁸⁹ Scudéry did not criticize the first verse but for the second he remarked: Pour la construction, il falloit dire, que je meurs s'il s'achève, et s'il ne s'achève pas. Corneille substituted: *s'il s'achève ou ne s'achève pas*.

⁹⁰ Scudéry: Je ne tiens pas que cette façon de faire flatter les esprits soit bonne. Point qu'il falloit dire l'esprit, parce que les esprits en pluriel s'entendent des viciaux et des animaux, et non pas de cette haute partie de l'âme, où reside la volonté. The verse remained unchanged.

⁹¹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to: *Pour laisser la vertu dans un si long supplice*.

⁹² Scudéry: Ce vers si je ne me trompe n'est pas l'un des galimatias. Verse remained unchanged.

Par vos commandemens Chimene vous vient voir. v. 136.

Ce vers est bas, et la façon de parler n'est pas François, pource qu'on ne dit point, *un tel vous vient voir par vos commandemens*.⁹³

Cet hymenée à trois esgalement importe. v. 145.

Ce vers est mal tourné, et a *trois* apres *hymenée* dans le repos du vers, fait un fort mauvais effect.⁹⁴

SCENE QUATRIESME (troisième)

Vous esleve en un rang (qui n'étoit dû qu'à moi). v. 152.

Cela n'est pas François. Il faut dire, *eslever à un rang*.⁹⁵

Mais le Roy m'a trouvé plus propre à son desir. v. 164.

Ce n'est pas bien parler de dire *plus propre à son desir*. Il falloit dire *plus propre à son service*, ou bien, *plus selon son desir*.⁹⁶

Instruisez-le d'exemple, (et rendez-le parfait). v. 183.

Cela n'est pas François, il falloit dire, *instruises-le par l'exemple de* etc.⁹⁷

(Instruisez-l'exemple, et vous) *ressouvenés*.

(Qu'il faut faire à ses yeux ce que vous) *enseignés*. v. 183-184.

Ressouvenés et enseignés, ne sont pas bonnes rimes.⁹⁸

(Attaquer une place), *ordonner une armée*. v. 189.

Ce n'est pas bien parler François, quelque sens qu'on luy veuille donner, et ne signifie point, ny mettre une armée en bataille, ny establir dans une armée l'ordre qui y est nécessaire.⁹⁹

Sans moy vous passeriés bien tost sous d'autres loix.

Et si vous ne m'avies vous n'auriés plus de Rois. v. 199-200.

Il y a contradiction en ces deux vers, car par la mesme raison qu'ils passeroient sous d'autres loix, ils pourroient avoir d'autres Rois.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

⁹⁴ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

⁹⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

⁹⁶ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed verses 163-164:

Vous choisissant peut-être on eût pu mieux choisir,

Mais le Roi m'a trouvé plus propre à son desir;

to:

La faveur l'a pu faire autant que le mérite;

Mais on doit ce respect au pouvoir absolu.

⁹⁷ Not criticized by Scudéry. See following note.

⁹⁸ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verses changed to:

Instruisez-le d'exemple, et rendez-le parfait,

Expliquant à ses yeux vos leçons par l'effet.

⁹⁹ Not criticized by Scudéry. In the editions of 1660-1664, *ranger* was substituted for *ordonner* while *was*, however, finally restored.

¹⁰⁰ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the second verse to:

Et vous auriez bientôt vos ennemis pour rois.

Le Prince pour essay de generosité. v. 203.

L'Observateur reprend mal cet endroit, en ce qu'il dit qu'il y a quelque consonance d'essay, avec *generosité*, car il n'y en a point.¹⁰¹

Gagneroit des combats, (marchant à mon côté). v. 204.

L'Observateur a repris cette façon de parler avec quelque fondement, pour ce qu'on ne sçauroit dire qu'improprement *gagner des combats*.¹⁰²

Parlons-en mieux, le Roy (fait honneur à votre âge). v. 221.

L'Observateur a repris ce vers avec trop de rigueur, pour avoir la cesure mauvaise, car cela se souffre quelquefois aux vers de theatre, et mesmes en quelques lieux, a de la grace dans les interlocutions, pourveu que l'on en use rarement.¹⁰³

Le premier dont la race a veu rougir son front. v. 228

L'Observateur a eu raison de remarquer qu'on ne peut dire, *le front d'une race*.¹⁰⁴

Mon ame est satisfaite;

Et mes yeux à ta main reprochent ta deffaitte.

Il y a contradiction en ces deux vers, de dire en mesme temps que son ame soit satisfaite, et que ses yeux reprochent à sa main une deffaitte honteuse, et qui par consequent luy doit donner du desplaisir.¹⁰⁵

SCENE CINQUISME (quatrieme)

Nouvelle dignité fatale à mon bon-heur.

Faut-il de vostre esclat voir triompher le Comte? v. 247 and 249.

Triompher de l'esclat d'une dignité, ce sont de belles paroles qui ne signifient rien.¹⁰⁶

qui tombe sur mon chef (rejaillit sur son front).

L'Observateur est trop rigoureux de reprendre ce mot de *chef*, qui n'est point tant hors d'usage qu'il dit.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Scudéry: Ce mot d'essay, et celui de generosite estant si pres l'un de l'autre, font une fausse rime dans le vers, bien desagreable, et que l'on doit tousjours esviter. Corneille rewrote the original couplet:

*Le Prince, pour essay de g n rosit ,
Gagneroit des combats marchant   mon c t ,*

to

*Le Prince   mes c t s feroit dans les combats
L'essai de son courage   l'ombre de mon bras;*

¹⁰² Scud ry: On dit bien gagner une bataille, mais on ne dit point, il a gagn  le combat See preceding note

¹⁰³ Scud ry: La cesure manque   ce vers. Verse remained unchanged, except for the substitution of *l'honneur*, for *honneur*, in the edition of 1644.

¹⁰⁴ Scud ry: Je trouve que le front d'une race, est une assez estrange chose: il ne falloit plus que dire, les bras de ma lign e; et les cuisses de ma posterit . The verse remained unchanged. Marty-Laveaux gives *ma race* instead of *la race*

¹⁰⁵ Not criticized by Scud ry. These verses along with two following were removed in later editions

¹⁰⁶ Not criticized by Scud ry. The verses remained unchanged

¹⁰⁷ Scud ry: Cette fa on de dire le chef, pour la teste, est hors de mode: et l'Auteur du Cid a tort d'en user si souvent. This verse and three preceding it were removed in editions after 1656.

SCENE SIXIESME (cinquième)

Je le remets au tien pour venger et punir. v. 272.

Venger et punir est trop vague, car on ne sçait qui doit estre vengé, ny qui doit estre puny.¹⁰⁸

(Meurs ou tue). *Au surplus*, (pour ne te point flatter). v. 275.

Ce terme est bien repris par l'Observateur, pour estre bas, mais la faute est legere.¹⁰⁹

Se faire un (beau) rampart de (mille) funerailles.

L'Observateur a bien repris cet endroit, car le mot de *funerailles*, ne signifie point des corps morts.¹¹⁰

Plus l'offenseur est cher, (et plus grande est l'offense). v. 285.

L'Observateur a quelque fondement en sa reprehension, de dire que ce mot *offenseur*, n'est pas en usage, toutesfois estant à souhaiter qu'il y fust, pour opposer à offensé, cette hardiesse n'est pas condamnable.¹¹¹

SCENE SEPTIESME (sixième)

L'un eschaufe mon cœur, l'autre retient mon bras. v. 304.

Eschauffer, est un verbe trop commun à toutes les deux passions. Il en falloit un qui fust propre à la vengeance, et qui la distinguast de l'amour, et mesmes le mot de, *flame*, qui suit, semble le desirer plustost pour la Maistresse que pour le Pere.¹¹²

A mon aveuglement rendés un peu de jour. v. 314.

L'Observateur n'a pas bien repris en cet endroit, pource que l'on peut dire *l'aveuglement*, pour *l'esprit aveuglé*.¹¹³

Je dois à ma Maistresse aussi bien qu'à mon Pere. v. 322.

Je dois est trop vague. Il devoit estre déterminé à quelque chose qui exprimast ce qu'il doit.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁰⁹ Scudéry Ce mot de surplus est de Chicane, et non de Poesie, ny de la Cour. Verse remained unchanged.

¹¹⁰ Scudéry J'aurois basti ce rampart de corps morts, et d'armes brisées, et non pas de funerailles; cette phrase est extravagante, et ne veut rien dire. Corneille rewrote the original couplet of which the first verse was:

Je l'ai vu tout sanglant, au milieu des batailles,
to

*Je l'ai vu tout couvert de sang et de poussière,
Porter partout l'effroi dans une armée entière.* v. 277-278.

¹¹¹ Scudéry Ce mot d'offenseur n'est point François, et quoy que son Auteur se croye assez grand homme pour enrichir la langue, et qu'il use souvent de ce terme nouveau, je pense qu'on le renvoyera avec *Isnel*. Verse remained unchanged.

¹¹² Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted *mon ame le cœur*, for *eschaufe mon cœur*.

¹¹³ Scudéry On ne rend pas le jour à l'aveuglement, mais ouy bien à l'aveugle. Corneille rewrote the two preceding verses as well as this one which became:

L'un me rend malheureux l'autre indigne du jour.

¹¹⁴ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

Allons mon ame; (et puisqu'il faut mourir). v. 329.

L'Observateur n'a pas eu raison de blâmer cette façon de parler, pource qu'elle est en usage, et que l'on parle souvent à soy en s'adressant à une des principales parties de soy mesme, comme *l'ame* et *le cœur*.¹¹⁵

(Allons mon âme); et puis qu'il faut mourir. v. 329.

Ces paroles ne sont pas une exclamation, comme le remarque l'Observateur, et ont un fort bon sens, puis qu'elles veulent dire que Rodrigue estant réduit à la nécessité de mourir, quoy qu'il peust arriver, il ayme mieux mourir sans offenser Chimene qu'après l'avoir offensée.¹¹⁶

(Respecter un amour) dont mon ame esgarée. v. 335.

L'Observateur n'a pas bien repris ce mot *esgarée*, qui n'est point inutile, marquant le trouble de l'esprit.¹¹⁷

Allons mon bras. (du moins sauvons l'honneur). v. 339.

L'Observateur devoit plustost reprendre *allons mon bras*, qu'*allons mon ame*, pource qu'encore que le *bras* se puisse quelquesfois prendre pour la personne, il ne s'accorde pas bien avec *aller*.¹¹⁸

Dois-je pas à mon Pere avant qu'à ma Maistresse v. 342.

Il fait la mesme faute qu'auparavant, il devoit determiner ce qu'il devoit.¹¹⁹

Je rendray mon sang pur comme je l'ay receu. v. 344.

L'Observateur n'a pas bien repris cet endroit, car metaphoriquement le sang qui a esté receu des ayeux, est souillé par les mauvaises actions. Et ce vers est fort beau.¹²⁰

ACTE II

SCENE PREMIERE

(Je l'avoue entre nous). quand je luy fis l'affront, v. 351.

Il n'a peu dire, *je luy fis*, car l'action vient d'estre faite, il falloit dire *quand je luy ay fait*, puis qu'il ne s'estoit point passé de nuit entre deux.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Scudéry. J'aurois autant dire, allons moy-mesme, et puis qu'il faut mourir. cette exclamation n'a point de sens. The verse remained unchanged.

¹¹⁶ See preceding note.

¹¹⁷ Scudéry. Ce mot d'*esgarée* n'est mis que pour rimer (with *assurée*, following verse) et n'a nulle signification en cet endroit. Verse remained unchanged.

¹¹⁸ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse unchanged except for transposition of *saurons* and *du moins*.

¹¹⁹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse changed to: *Je dois tout à mon père*, etc.

¹²⁰ Scudéry. Je ne sçay dans quel Aphorisme d'Hippocrate, l'Auteur a remarqué, qu'une mauvaise action corrompt le sang, mais contre ce qu'il dit, je croy plus raisonnablement, que Rodrigue s'a tout bruslé, par cette noire melancholie qui le possède. Verse remained unchanged.

¹²¹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted for the phrase in question: *mon sang un peu trop chaud*.

*Ce grand courage, grandeur de l'offense, grand crime
et quelque grand qu'il fust.* v. 354, 358, 366, 367.

L'Observateur est trop rigoureux de reprendre ces repetitions, dont la premiere n'est pas considerable, estant esloignée de cinq vers, et en la seconde la repetition de *quelque grand qu'il soit* (sic), est entierement necessaire, et a mesme de la grace.¹²²

Qui passent le commun des satisfactions. v. 360.

Cette façon de parler est des plus basses, et peu Française.¹²³

(Pour le faire abolir) *sont plus que suffisans.* v. 368.

L'Observateur l'a bien repris, non pas en ce qu'il dit que cette façon de parler ne signifie rien, car elle est aisément entendue, mais en ce qu'elle est basse.¹²⁴

SCENE SECONDE

*Sçais-tu que ce vieillard fut la mesme vertu,
La vaillance et l'honneur de son temps, le sçais-tu?* v. 399-400

On ne doit parler ainsi que d'un homme mort, car D. Diegue estant vivant son fils devoit croire qu'il estoit encore la vertu et l'honneur de son temps, et il devoit dire, *est la mesme vertu*, etc.¹²⁵

Le Comte respond, *peut-estre* (v. 401), mais c'est inal respondu; car absolument on doit sçavoir ou non quelque chose.¹²⁶

*Cette ardeur que dans les yeux je porte
Sçais-tu que c'est son sang?* v. 401-402

Une ardeur ne peut estre appelée sang. par metaphore ny autrement.¹²⁷

A quatre pas d'icy je te le fay sçavoir. v. 403

Après avoir dit ces mots, le grand discours qui suit jusques à la fin de la Scene est hors de saison.¹²⁸

SCENE TROISIEME

Elle a fait trop de bruit pour ne pas s'accorder. v. 463.

L'Observateur a mal repris cet endroit, car on dit *s'accorder* pour *estre accordé*.¹²⁹

¹²² Scudéry — Pour un grand Poete, voida bien des grandeurs qui se touchent. The criticism had no effect but, rather curiously, Corneille substituted *soit* for the original *fust*.

¹²³ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹²⁴ Scudéry — *Sont plus que suffisans*, est une façon de parler basse et populaire, qui ne veut rien dire. The verse remained unchanged.

¹²⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹²⁶ Not criticized by Scudéry. No change.

¹²⁷ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verses remain unchanged.

¹²⁸ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remains unchanged.

¹²⁹ Scudéry — Il faut dire pour n'estre pas accordée, car elle ne s'accorde point elle mesme. Verse remained unchanged.

*Et de ma part mon ame, (à tes ennuis sensible,
Pour en tarir la source y fera l'impossible).* v. 465-466.

Cela est mal dit, mais pour, *fera l'impossible*, l'Observateur l'a mal repris, car l'usage a reçu *faire l'impossible*, pour dire *faire tout ce qui est possible*.¹²⁰

Les hommes valeureux le sont du premier coup. v. 483.

L'Observateur n'a pas eu sujet de reprendre, la bassesse du vers ny la phrase *du premier coup*, mais il le devoit reprendre comme impropre en ce lieu, puis qu'il se dit d'une action, et non d'une habitude.¹²¹

Les affronts à l'honneur ne se reparent point. v. 468.

On dit bien *faire affront à quelqu'un*, mais non pas *faire affront à l'honneur de quelqu'un*.¹²²

(S'il ne m'obéit point), *quel comble à mon ennuy.* v. 487.

Cette phrase n'est pas Française.¹²³

SCENE CINQUIESME

Vous laissés choir ainsi ce glorieux courage. v. 521.

Contre l'opinion de l'Observateur, ce mot de *choir* n'est point si fort impropre en ce lieu qu'il ne se puisse supporter. Celui d'*abattre* eust esté sans doute meilleur, et plus dans l'usage.¹²⁴

Si dessous sa valeur ce grand guerrier s'abbat v. 532.

L'Observateur a mal repris *s'abbat*, et il n'y a point d'équivoque vitieuse avec *Sabat*. Mais il devoit remarquer qu'il falloit dire *est abattu* et non pas *s'abbat*.¹²⁵

(Le Portugal se rendre), *et ses nobles journées.*

Porter delà les Mers ses hautes destinées. v. 541-542.

L'Observateur a bien repris *ses nobles journées*. Car on ne dit point *les journées d'un homme*, pour exprimer les combats qu'il a faits, mais on dit bien, *la journée d'un tel lieu*, pour dire la bataille qui s'y est donnée. Et il devoit encore adjouster que de nobles journées qui portent de hautes

¹²⁰ Scudéry. A le bien prendre, c'est ne vouloir rien faire que de vouloir faire, ce qu'on ne peut faire. On pardonne ces fautes, aux petites gens qui s'en servent, mais non pas aux grands Auteurs, tel que le croit estre celui du Cid. In accordance with the Academy's criticism, Corneille changed the first phrase to: *Et tu sais que mon âme*.

¹²¹ Scudéry. Ce premier coup, est une phrase trop basse pour la Poésie. Verse remained unchanged.

¹²² Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to: *De si mortels affronts ne se reparent point*. The transposition of this and the preceding remark would seem to indicate careless editing on the part of the Academy's committee.

¹²³ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹²⁴ Scudéry. Faire choir un courage, n'est pas proprement parler. Verse remained unchanged.

¹²⁵ Scudéry. Outre que cette parole *le s'abat*, a le son trop approchant de celui du *Sabat*, il falloit dire *est abattu*, et non pas *s'abat*. Another case of inadvertance on the part of the Academy's committee. Verse remained unchanged.

destinées au delà des Mers, font une confusion de belles paroles, qui n'ont aucun sens raisonnable.¹³⁶

(Au milieu de l'Afrique) *arborer ses lauriers*. v. 543.

Est bien repris par l'Observateur, pource que l'on ne peut pas dire, *arborer un arbre*. Le mot d'*arborer* ne se prend que pour des choses que l'on plante figurement en façon d'arbres, comme des estandars.¹³⁷

Mais Madame voyez où vous portez son bras. v. 547.

Cette façon de parler est si hardie qu'elle en est obscure.¹³⁸

Je veux que ce combat demeure pour certain. v. 551.

Outre que cette phrase est basse, elle est mauvaise, et l'Autheur n'exprime pas bien par là, *je veux que ce combat se soit fait*.¹³⁹

Votre esprit va-t-il point bien viste pour sa main. v. 552.

Cette pointe est mauvaise.¹⁴⁰

Que veux-tu? je suis folle et mon esprit s'esgare.

Mais c'est le moindre mal que l'Amour me prepare. v. 553-554.

Il y a de la contradiction, dans le sens de ces vers: car comment l'Amour luy peut il preparer un mal qu'elle sent desja. Elle pouvoit bien dire, *c'est un petit mal à comparaison de ceux que l'Amour me prepare*.¹⁴¹

SCENE SIXIESME

Je l'ay de vostre part long temps entretenu. v. 559.

On dit bien *je luy ay parlé de vostre part*, ou bien *je l'ay entretenu de ce que vous m'avez commandé de luy dire de vostre part*, mais on ne peut dire, *je l'ay entretenu de vostre part*.¹⁴²

On l'a pris tout boüillant encor de sa querelle. v. 574.

On ne peut dire, *boüillant d'une querelle*, comme on dit, *boüillant de colere*.¹⁴³

J'obeis et me tais, mais de grace encor, Sire.

Deux mots en sa deffence. v. 581-582.

Après avoir dit *j'obeis et me tais*, il ne devoit point continuer de

¹³⁶ Scudéry: Il falloit dire ses grands exploits, car ses nobles journées ne disent rien qui vaille. The verses remained unchanged.

¹³⁷ Scudéry: Le mot d'*arborer* est bon pour les Estandars, ne vaut rien pour les arbres, il falloit y mettre planter. Corneille changed the verse to: *Du sang des Africains arroser ses lauriers*.

¹³⁸ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹³⁹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to: *Eh bien ils se battront, puisque vous le voulez*.

¹⁴⁰ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted: *Mais Rodrigue ira-t-il si loin que vous allez*

¹⁴¹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted for the second verse: *Tu vois par là quels maux l'Amour me prépare*.

¹⁴² Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁴³ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

parler. Car ce n'est pas se vouloir taire, que de demander à dire deux mots en sa deffense.¹⁴⁴

Et c'est contre ce mot qu'a resisté le Comte. v. 586.

*Resister contre un mot n'est pas bien parler François. Il eust peu dire, s'obstiner sur un mot.*¹⁴⁵

*Il trouve en son devoir un peu trop de rigueur,
Et vous obeïroit s'il avoit moins de cœur.* v. 587-588.

D. Sanche peche fort contre le jugement en cét endroit, d'oser dire au Roy que le Comte trouve trop de rigueur, à luy rendre le respect qu'il luy doit, et encore plus quand il adjouste qu'il y auroit de la lascheté à luy obeïr.¹⁴⁶

Commandez que son bras nourry dans les allarmes. v. 589.

On ne peut dire, *un bras nourry dans les allarmes*, et il a mal pris en ce lieu la partie pour le tout.¹⁴⁷

*Vous perdez le respect, mais je pardonne à l'aage.
Et j'estime l'ardeur en un jeune courage.* v. 593-594

Le Roy estime sans raison cette ardeur, qui fait perdre le respect à D. Sanche; c'estoit beaucoup de luy pardonner.¹⁴⁸

*A quelques sentimens que son orgueil m'oblige,
Sa perte m'affoiblit, et son trespas m'afflige.* v. 645-646.

Toutes les parties de ce raisonnement sont mal rangées, car il falloit dire, *à quelques ressentiment* [sic] *que son orgueil m'ait obligé, son trespas m'afflige, à cause que sa perte m'affoiblit.*¹⁴⁹

SCENE SEPTIESME (huitième)

Par cette triste bouche elle empruntoit ma voix, etc. v. 680 ff.

Chimène paroist trop subtile en tout cét endroit, pour une affligée.¹⁵⁰

*Moy dont les longs travaux ont acquis tant de gloire.
Moy que jadis par tout a suyvi la victoire.* v. 701-702.

D. Diegue devoit exprimer ses sentimens devant son Roy avec plus de modestie.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verses remain unchanged.

¹⁴⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted *à ce mot seul*, for *contre ce mot*.

¹⁴⁶ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verses remain unchanged.

¹⁴⁷ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁴⁸ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted *excuse*, for *estime*, in the second verse.

¹⁴⁹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verses remain unchanged. In later editions they are the last verses of Scene VII which begins with the entrance of Don Alonso, v. 630.

¹⁵⁰ Not criticized by Scudéry. Academy's criticism without effect, except possibly in the last four verses (693-696) which were rewritten, removing: *Le soleil qui voit tout ne voit rien sous les cieux, Qui vous puisse payer un sang si précieux.*

¹⁵¹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verses remained unchanged.

*L'orgueil dans vostre Cour l'a fait presque à vos yeux,
Et souillé sans respect l'honneur de ma vieillesse.* v. 708-709.

Il falloit dire, et a souillé, car l'a fait, ne peut pas regir, souillé.¹⁵²

*Du crime glorieux qui cause nos débats.
Sire, j'en suis la teste, il n'en est que le bras.* v. 723-724.

On peut bien donner une teste et des bras à quelques corps figurés, comme par exemple à une armée, mais non pas à des actions, comme des crimes, qui ne peuvent avoir ny testes ny bras.¹⁵³

*Et loin de murmurer d'un injuste decret,
Mourant sans des-honneur je mourray sans regret.* v. 731-732.

Il offense le Roy le croyant capable de faire un decret injuste, mais il pouvoit dire, loin d'accuser d'injustice le decret de ma mort.¹⁵⁴

(Il est juste, grand Roi), qu'un meurtrier perisse v. 738.

Ce mot de meurtrier, qu'il repete souvent, le faisant de trois sillabes, n'est que de deux.¹⁵⁵

ACTE III

SCENE PREMIERE

Elvire. *Jamais un meurtrier en fit-il son refuge?*

Rodrigue. *Jamais un meurtrier s'offrit-il à son Juge?* v. 749-750.

Soit que Rodrigue veuille consentir au sens d'Elvire, soit qu'il y veuille contrarier, il y a grande obscurité en ce vers, et il semble qu'il conviendrait mieux au discours d'Elvire qu'au sien.¹⁵⁶

SCENE SECONDE

*Employez mon espée à punir le coupable.
Employez mon amour à venger cette mort.* v. 778-779.

La bien seance eust esté mieux observée, s'il se fust mis en devoir de venger Chimene, sans luy en demander la permission.¹⁵⁷

SCENE TROISIEME

Pleurez pleurez mes yeux, etc. (v. 799-802). Cét endroit n'est pas bien repris par l'Observateur; car cette frase *fondez vous en eau*, ne donne aucune vilaine idée comme il dit. Il eust esté mieux à la verité de dire, *fondez vous en larmes*. Et à bien considerer ce qui suit, encore qu'il semble

¹⁵² Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille recast the passage, these two verses becoming
*Le Comte en votre cour l'a fait presque à nos yeux,
Jaloux de votre choix, et fier de l'avantage.*

¹⁵³ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the first verse to
Qu'on nomme crime, ou non, ce qui fait nos débats

¹⁵⁴ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted *rigoureux*, for *injuste*.

¹⁵⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁵⁶ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the second verse to *Et se n'y tient ainsi que
m'offrir à mon juge.*

¹⁵⁷ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verses remain unchanged.

y avoir quelque confusion, toutesfois il ne s'y trouve point trois moitiés comme il estime.¹⁵⁸

Si je pleure ma perte et la main qui l'a faite. v. 806.

On ne peut dire, *la main qui a fait la perte*, pour dire, *la main qui l'a causée*; car c'est Chimene qui a fait la perte, et non pas la main de Rodrigue. Ce n'est pas bien dit aussi, *je pleure la main* pour dire, *je pleure de ce que c'est cette main qui a fait le mal*.¹⁵⁹

(Mais) en ce dur combat de colere et de flame. v. 817.

Flame en ce lieu est trop vague pour designer *l'amour*, l'opposant à *colere*, où il y a du feu aussi bien qu'en l'amour.¹⁶⁰

Il deschire mon cœur sans partager mon ame. v. 818.

L'Observateur l'a bien repris, car cela ne veut dire sinon, *il déchire mon cœur sans le déchirer*.¹⁶¹

(Et) quoy que mon amour ait sur moy de pouvoir. v. 819.

Cette façon de parler n'est pas Française; il falloit dire, *quelque pouvoir que mon amour ait sur moy*.¹⁶²

Rodrique m'est bien cher, son interest m'afflige. v. 822.

Ce mot, *interest*, estant commun au bien et au mal, ne s'accorde pas justement avec *afflige*, qui n'est que pour le mal. Il falloit dire, *son interest me touche*, où (sic) *sa peine m'afflige*.¹⁶³

Mon cœur prend son party, mais contre leur effort,

Je scay que je suis fille et que mon pere est mort. v. 823-824

C'est mal parler de dire, *contre leur effort je scay que je suis fille*, pour dire, *j'oppose à leur effort la consideration que je suis fille, et que mon pere est mort*.¹⁶⁴

(Vous avez vu le Roi); n'en pressez point d'effect. v. 840.

Il falloit dire, *l'effect*.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸ Scudéry. Ces quatre vers, que l'on a trouvez si beaux, ne sont pourtant qu'une hapelourde; car premierement ces yeux fondus, donnent une vaine idee à tous les esprits delicats. On dit bien fondre en larmes, mais on ne dit point fondre les yeux. De plus, on appelle bien une Mestresse la moitié de sa vie, mais on ne nomme point un pere ainsi. Et puis, dire que la moitié d'une vie, a tué l'autre moitié, et qu'on doit venger cette moitié, sur l'autre moitié, et parler et marcher avec une troisieme vie, apres avoir perdu ces deux moitez, tout cela n'est qu'une fausse lumiere, qui enlout l'esprit, de ceux qui se plaisent à la voir briller. The verses remain unchanged.

¹⁵⁹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to: *Si je ne puis haïr la main qui l'a causée.*

¹⁶⁰ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁶¹ Scudéry. Ce vers n'est encor à mon advis qu'un galimatias pompeux: car le cœur et l'ame, sont tous deux pris en ce sens, pour la partie où resident les passions. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁶² Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁶³ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁶⁴ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted *malgré*, for. *contre* in the first verse and changed the second to: *Je sais ce que je suis, et que mon pere est mort.*

¹⁶⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. Marty-Laveaux gives the reading *l'effet* without variant or note.

Quoy j'auray veu mourir mon pere entre mes bras? v. 831.

Elle avoit dit auparavant (v. 668) qu'il estoit mort, quand elle arriva sur le lieu.¹⁶⁶

SCENE QUATRIESME

Soulez-vous du plaisir de m'empescher de vivre. v. 850.

Cette phrase *empescher de vivre*, est trop foible pour dire, *de me faire mourir*, principalement en luy presentant son espée, afin qu'elle le tuë.¹⁶⁷

Quoy du sang de mon pere encor toute trempée? v. 858.

L'Observateur est trop rigoureux de reprendre ce vers, à cause du semblable qui est en un autre lieu; ce n'est point stérilité, si l'on n'en veut accuser Homere et Virgile, qui repetent plusieurs fois de mesmes vers.¹⁶⁸

(Je fais ce que tu veux, mais) *sans quitter l'envie.* v. 869.

L'Observateur ne devoit point reprendre cette frase qui se peut souffrir.¹⁶⁹

(Je te le dis encore), *et veux tant que j'expire.* v. 893.

Cela n'est pas François pour dire, *jusqu'à tant que j'expire.*¹⁷⁰

(Je ne te puis blasmer) *d'avoir fuy l'infamie.* v. 906.

Fuy est de deux syllabes.¹⁷¹

(Mais il me faut te perdre après l'avoir) *perdu;*

(Et pour mieux tourmenter mon esprit) *esperdu.* v. 923-924.

Perdu et *esperdu* ne peuvent rimer, à cause que l'un est le simple, et l'autre le composé.¹⁷²

Aux traits de ton amour ny de ton desespoir. v. 956.

Ce vers est beau, et a esté mal repris par l'Observateur et *effets*, au lieu de *traits* ny seroit pas bien comme il pense.¹⁷³

Va je ne te hay point Rod Tu le dois. v. 963.

Ces termes *tu le dois* sont equivoques; on pourroit entendre, *tu dois ne*

¹⁶⁶ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to: *Quoy, mon père étant mort, et presque entre mes bras.* Another note out of sequence.

¹⁶⁷ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse changed to: *Assurez-vous l'honneur de m'empêcher de vivre.*

¹⁶⁸ Scudéry. Ce vers me fait souvenir, qu'il y en a un autre tout pareil qui dit: *Quoy, du sang de Rodrigue encor toute trempés.* (v. 1706.) Cette conformité de mots, de rime et de pensée, monstre une grande stérilité d'esprit. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁶⁹ Scudéry. Il falloit dire sans perdre l'envie, ce mot de quitter n'est pas en son lieu. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁷⁰ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted: *et quoique j'en soupire.*

¹⁷¹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Academy's criticism without effect.

¹⁷² Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the second verse to: *Cet effort sur ma flamme à mon honneur est dû.*

¹⁷³ Scudéry. Ce mot de trait, en cette signification est populaire, et s'il eust dit aux effets, la Phrase eust esté bien plus noble. Verse remained unchanged.

me point hayr, toutefois la passion est si belle en cét endroit, que l'esprit se porte de luy mesme au sens de l'Autheur.¹⁷⁴

Malgré des feux si beaux, qui rompent ma colere. v. 981.

Il passe mal d'une metaphore en une autre, et ce verbe *rompre* ne s'accorde pas avec *feux*.¹⁷⁵

Vigueur, vainqueur (v. 1010-1011), *trompeur et peur*. v. 1015-1016

L'Observateur a tort d'accuser ces rimes d'estre fausses. Il vouloit dire seulement qu'elles sont trop proches les unes des autres, ce qui n'est pas considerable.¹⁷⁶

SCENE CINQUIESME

(Ma crainte est dissipée, et) *mes ennuis cessez*. v. 1024.

L'Observateur à mal repris cét endroit; *cessez* est bien dit en Poëme pour *appaïsés* ou *finis*.¹⁷⁷

SCENE SIXIESME

Où fut jadis l'affront, (que ton courage efface). v. 1038.

L'Observateur à bien repris en ce lieu le mot de *jadis*, qui marque un temps trop esloigné.¹⁷⁸

L'amour n'est qu'un plaisir, et l'honneur un devoir. v. 1059.

Qu'estant sorti de vous, je ne pouvois pas moins. v. 1039-1040.

Il prend hors de propos les Cieux à tesmoins, en ce lieu.¹⁷⁹

L'amour n'est qu'un plaisir, et l'honneur un devoir. v. 1059.

Il falloit dire *l'amour n'est qu'un plaisir, l'honneur est un devoir*. car *n'est que* icy ne regit pas *un devoir*; Autrement il sembleroit que contre son intention il les voulust mespriser l'un et l'autre.¹⁸⁰

Et vous m'osez pousser à la honte du change. v. 1062.

Ce n'est point bien parler, pour dire *vous me conseillés de changer*; on ne dit point *pousser à la honte*.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁴ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁷⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted *troublent*, for *rompent*.

¹⁷⁶ Scudéry. Ce sont quatre fausses rimes, qui se touchent, et qu'un esprit exact ne doit pas mettre en pres. Corneille made slight changes in the first two verses but left the rhymes unchanged.

¹⁷⁷ Scudéry. Ce n'est point parler François. on dit *finis*, ou *terminez*, et le mot de *cessez*, ne se met jamais comme il est là. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁷⁸ Scudéry. Ce *jadis* ne vaut rien du tout en cet endroit. par ce qu'il marque une chose faite il y a long-temps. et nous savons qu'il n'y a que quatre ou cinq heures que Don Diegue a receu le soufflet dont il entend parler. Corneille changed the verse to: *Où fut empreint l'affront que ton courage efface*.

¹⁷⁹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verses to:

L'honneur vous en est dû. je ne pouvois pas moins.

Étant sorti de vous et nourri par vos soins

¹⁸⁰ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to: *L'amour n'est qu'un plaisir, l'honneur est un devoir.*

¹⁸¹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

La flotte (qu'on craignoit, dans ce grand fleuve entrée)
Vient surprendre la ville (et piller la contrée). v. 1073-1074.

Il falloit dire *vient pour surprendre*, pour ce que celui qui parle est dans la ville, et est assuré, qu'il ne sera point surpris, puis qu'il sçait l'entreprise, sans estre d'intelligence avec les ennemis.¹⁸²

(La cour est en désordre), *et le peuple en alarmes*. v. 1077

Il falloit dire *en alarme* au singulier.¹⁸³

Venoient m'offrir leur vie à venger ma querelle. v. 1082.

Il eust esté bon de dire. *Venoient s'offrir à venger ma querelle*, mais disant: *Venoient m'offrir leur vie*. Il falloit dire *pour venger ma querelle*.¹⁸⁴

ACTE IIII

SCENE TROISIEME

(Qu'il devienne) *l'effroy de Grenade, et Toledé*. v. 1226.

Il falloit repeter le *de* et dire *de Grenade et de Toledé*.¹⁸⁵

(Que Votre Majesté, Sire), *espargne ma honte*. v. 1229.

Cela ne signifie rien, car *honte* n'est pas bien pour *pudeur* ou *modestie*.¹⁸⁶

Et le sang qui m'anime, (et l'air que je respire). v. 1234.

L'Observateur n'a pas bien repris cet endroit, puisque tous les Poètes ont usé de cette façon de parler, qui est belle.¹⁸⁷

Sollicita mon ame encore toute troublée. v. 1246.

Sollicita mon ame seulement n'est pas assés dire. Il falloit adjoûter de quoy elle avoit esté sollicitée.¹⁸⁸

(Le péril approchoit); *leur brigade estoit prête*. v. 1249.

Contre l'avis de l'Observateur, le mot de *brigade* se peut prendre pour un plus grand nombre que de *cinq cens*. Il est vray qu'en terme de guerre, on n'appelle *brigade*, que ce qui est pris d'un plus grand corps, et quelquefois on peut appeller *brigade* la moitié d'une armée que l'on detache pour quelque

¹⁸² Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted *croît*, for *vient*.

¹⁸³ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille retained the plural.

¹⁸⁴ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to *Se renosent tous offrir à venger ma querelle*.

¹⁸⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to *Qu'il comble d'effroy Grenade et Toledé*.

¹⁸⁶ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁸⁷ Scudéry. L'Autheur n'est pas bon Anathomiste. ce n'est point le sang qui anime car il a besoin luy mesme d'estre animé, par les esprits vitaux qui se forment au cœur, et dont il n'est (pour user du terme de l'Art) que le véhicule. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁸⁸ Not criticized by Scudéry. The Academy's criticism brought no change.

effect, mais en terme de Poésie on prend *brigade* pour *troupe* de quelque façon que ce soit.¹⁸⁹

Et parestre à la Cour eut hazardé ma teste v. 1250

Il falloit dire *c'eust esté hazarder ma teste*; car on ne peut faire un substantif de *parestre*, pour *regir eust hazardé*.¹⁹⁰

(Tant, à nous voir) *marcher en si bon equipage*. v. 1261.

L'Observateur a eu raison de dire qu'il eust esté mieux de mettre *en bon ordre*, qu'en *bon equipage*, car ils alloient au combat, et non pas en voyage. Mais il à tort de dire que le mot *d'equipage* soit vilain.¹⁹¹

J'en cache les deux tiers aussi tost qu'arrivez v. 1263.

Cette façon de parler n'est pas François. Il falloit dire *aussi-tost qu'ils furent arrivez* ou *ils furent cachez, aussi-tost qu'arrivez*.¹⁹²

Les autres au signal de nos vaisseaux respondent. v. 1285.

Ce vers est si mal range, qu'on ne sçait si c'est le *signal des vaisseaux* ou si *des vaisseaux on respond au signal*.¹⁹³

(Leur courage renaît), *et leurs terreurs s'oublent*. v. 1294.

L'Observateur n'a pas plus de raison de condamner *s'oublent* que *s'accorder*, [see above, p. 87], comme il a esté remarqué auparavant.¹⁹⁴

Restablit leur desordre, (et leur rend leur vertu). v. 1296.

On ne dit point *restablit le desordre*, mais bien *restablit l'ordre*.¹⁹⁵

Nous laissent pour Adieux des cris espouvantables. v. 1314.

On ne dit point *laisser un Adieu*, ny *laisser des cris*, mais bien *dire Adieu, et jeter des cris*; outre que les vaincus ne disent jamais *Adieu* aux vainqueurs.¹⁹⁶

SCENE QUATRIÈME

Contrefaites le triste.

v. 1337.

L'Observateur n'a pas eu raison de reprendre cette façon de parler,

¹⁸⁹ Scudéry. Cinq cens hommes est un trop grand nombre pour ne l'appeller que *brigade*. Il y a des *Regimens entiers*, qui n'en ont pas d'avantage. et quand on se pique de vouloir parler des choses, selon les termes de l'Art, il en faut sçavoir la véritable signification, autrement on paroit ridicule en voulant paroître sçavant. The verse remained unchanged.

¹⁹⁰ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to: *Me montrant à la cour, je hazardois ma tête*.

¹⁹¹ Scudéry. C'est encor parler de la guerre en bon bourgeois qui va à la garde au lieu de ce vilain mot *d'equipage*, qui ne vaut rien là, il faut dire en si bon ordre. Corneille substituted: *marcher avec un tel usage*.

¹⁹² Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁹³ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted: *Les nôtres à ces cris de nos vaisseaux répondent*.

¹⁹⁴ Cela ne vaut rien. on doit dire *finissent, cessent* ou *se dissipent*. car ces terreurs qui s'oublent elles mesmes, ne sont qu'un pur galimatias. Verse remained unchanged.

¹⁹⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted *arrête* for *rétablit*.

¹⁹⁶ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted: *peussent jusques aux cieux, for* *Nous laissent pour adieux*.

qui est en usage, mais il est vray qu'elle est basse dans la bouche du Roy.¹⁹⁷

au milieu des lauriers

L'Observateur n'a pas eu sujet de blasmer l'Autheur d'avoir parlé huit ou dix fois de *lauriers*, dans un Poëme de si longue estendue.¹⁹⁸

SCENE CINQUIESME

Si de nos ennemis Rodrigue a le dessus.

Il est mort à nos yeux des coups qu'il a reçeus. v. 1339-1340.

Quand un homme *est mort*, on ne peut dire *qu'il a le dessus* des ennemis, mais bien *il a eu*.¹⁹⁹

(Tu le posséderas), *reprens ton allegresse.* v. 1349.

Le Roy proposeroit mal à propos à Chimene, qu'elle *reprist son allegresse*, si elle n'avoit point fait parestre plus d'amour pour Rodrigue, que de ressentiment pour la mort de son Pere.²⁰⁰

Sire, ostez ces faveurs qui terniroient sa gloire. v. 1421.

Cela n'est pas bien dit pour signifier, *ne luy faites point de ces faveurs qui terniroient sa gloire*; car on ne peut dire *oster des faveurs* que celles que peut donner ou oster une maistresse, mais ce n'est pas ainsi que s'entendent *les faveurs* en ce lieu.²⁰¹

ACTE V

SCENE PREMIERE

Mon amour vous le doit et mon cœur qui soupire,

N'ose sans vostre adveu, sortir de vostre Empire. v. 1469-1470.

Cette expression *qui soupire*, est imparfaite. Il falloit dire *qui soupire pour vous*, et par le second vers il semble qu'il demande plustost permission de changer d'amour que de mourir.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Scudéry: Ce mot de contrefaites est trop bas pour la Poesie, on doit dire, feignés d'estre triste, etc. Corneille substituted: *Montrez un œil plus triste.*

¹⁹⁸ Scudéry cited nine verses containing the word *laurier* in order to show: comme cet Autheur est sterile. The verses are 32, 202, 240, 390, 413, 543, 1196, 1372 and 1674. Other expressions were substituted in verses 413 and 1674.

¹⁹⁹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

²⁰⁰ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to: *Calme cette douleur qui pour lui s'intéresse.*

²⁰¹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted: *De pareilles faveurs, terniroient trop sa gloire.* Scudéry criticized verse 1447: *Sortir d'une bataille, et combattre à l'instant*; Tout de mesme, ce combat des Mores fait de nuit, n'estoit point une bataille. For some reason the Academy overlooked this criticism; perhaps because it was out of the regular order coming after the remark on verse 1261. Verse remained unchanged.

²⁰² Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verses to:

*Cet immuable amour qui sous vos lois m'engage
N'ose accepter ma mort sans vous en faire hommage.*

V'a combattre Don Sanche et des-ja desesperer. v. 1478

Il eust esté plus à propos d'adjouster à *desesperer*, ou *de la victoire*, où *de vaincre*, car le mot *desesperer* seul semble ne dire pas assez tout seul.²⁰³

Quand mon honneur y va, (rien ne m'est précieux). v. 1528.

Cette frase a des-ja esté reprise; il falloit dire *quand il y va de mon honneur*.²⁰⁴

SCENE SECONDE

Mon cœur ne peut obtenir dessus mon sentiment. v. 1579.

Cela est mal dit pour exprimer, *mon cœur ne peut obtenir de luy mesme*. Car il distingue le cœur du sentiment, qui en ce lieu ne sont qu'une mesme chose.²⁰⁵

SCENE TROISIESME

Que ce jeune Seigneur endosse le harnois. v. 1620.

L'Observateur ne devoit point reprendre cette frase, qui n'est point hors d'usage, comme les termes qu'il allegue.²⁰⁶

Puisse l'autoriser à parestre appaisée. v. 1626.

Ce vers ne signifie pas bien, *puisse luy donner lieu de s'appaiser, sans qu'il y aille de son honneur*.²⁰⁷

Et mes plus doux souhaits sont pleins d'un repentir. v. 1648.

Il falloit mettre plustot *pleins de repentir*, car le mot de *pleins* ne s'accorde pas avec *un* et puis le repentir n'est pas dans les souhaits, mais il peut suivre les souhaits. Il falloit dire *sont suivis de repentir*.²⁰⁸

Mon devoir est trop fort et ma perte trop grande,

Et ce n'est pas assez pour leur faire la loy. v. 1678-1679.

On peut bien dire *faire la loy à un devoir*, pour dire *le surmonter*, mais non pas à *une perte*.²⁰⁹

Et le Ciel ennuyé de vous estre si doux. v. 1695.

Cela dit trop pour une personne, dont on a tué le pere le jour precedent.²¹⁰

²⁰³ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

²⁰⁴ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted *àuprès de mon honneur*, for *Quand mon honneur y va*.

²⁰⁵ Not criticized by Scudéry. The Academy substituted the antecedent for the original: *S'il ne peut, etc.* Corneille changed the verse to: *Si jamais il n'obtient sur un si long tourment*.

²⁰⁶ Scudéry. Ce jeune Seigneur qui endosse le harnois est du temps de moult de pieca et d'ancois. It, too, is out of its place, following the remark on v. 1447 and preceding the one on v. 1337. Corneille changed the verse to: *Parce qu'il se s'armer pour la première fois*.

²⁰⁷ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted: *Et l'autorise enfin*, for *Puisse l'autoriser*.

²⁰⁸ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille changed the verse to: *Je ne souhaite rien sans un prompt repentir*. The Academy neglected to indicate the scene which is the fourth.

²⁰⁹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verses remain unchanged.

²¹⁰ Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted: *Et nous verrons du Ciel l'équilibre courroux*.

(Non qu'une folle ardeur) *de son costé me panche*. v. 1701.

Il falloit dire *me face pancher*; ce verbe n'est point actif, mais neutre.²¹¹

Madame, à vos genoux j'apporte cette espée. v. 1705.

On peut bien *apporter une espée aux pieds* de quelqu'un, mais non pas *aux genoux*.²¹²

Ministre desloyal de mon rigoureux sort.

D. Sanche n'estoit point *desloyal*, puis qu'il n'avoit fait que ce qu'elle luy avoit permis de faire, et qu'il ne luy avoit manqué de foy en nulle autre chose.²¹³

[Scudéry presented forty-eight criticisms on the verses of the *Cid*. Of these the Academy overlooked one, endorsed eleven, resulting in six revisions, partially endorsed three, resulting in one revision, and controverted thirty-two. In six of these thirty-two cases Corneille made revisions.

The Academicians presented on their side one hundred criticisms, one of which was apparently due to a careless reading or to a misprint in the text from which they worked. In forty-eight cases Corneille revised his verses; in fifty-one he retained the passages which had been criticized. The term revision means here that the passage in question was rewritten or rejected altogether, as in a number of cases near the beginning of the play. As these figures are based on interpretations they are not to be taken too absolutely. It is clear that not all the revisions were due to the criticisms offered at this time.]

²¹¹ Not criticized by Scudéry. Verse remained unchanged.

²¹² Not criticized by Scudéry. Corneille substituted: *Obligé d'apporter à vos pieds cette épée*. The Academy again neglects to indicate the scene, the fifth.

²¹³ Not criticized by Scudéry. The speech containing this verse was reduced from thirteen verses to five, perhaps in view of the severe criticism of the Academy on the length of the scene in which it occurs (see above p. 77). This verse was among those discarded.

A	B	BB	C	E
qu'il y a adjousté une grande quantité de pensées, qui ne cedent en rien à celles de l'Espagnol, et qu'il a reformé en beau- coup d'endroits ce qu'il y avoit de plus barbare dans l'invention et dis- position du Poeme.	et il.... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... .....de cette Piece.	quelques unes meilleures qu'elles n'estoient, nous trouvons encore qu'il y a mis du sien beau- coup de belles pensées ²¹⁶ celles du premier Au- theur.	quelques uns meilleurs qu'ils..... ..... ..... .....(BBB, ses) pensées	quelques unes meilleures qu'elles..... .....encores..... a (DE, adjousté) beau- coup de pensées,

²¹⁶ After *pensées*, an *et qu'il* has been cancelled, the first intention being evidently to connect what goes before with *a reformé*, etc.

CONCLUSION

This portion of Chapelain's *ébauche* received but one rather hasty revision, see Introduction, p. 10. The text is therefore presented throughout in three columns, A, B, and C, corresponding respectively to the original draft, the same after this revision, and to the text of the first edition.

[illegible]

elle a creu se devoir

[illegible]

consideration ny interest que de la solide doctrine et de la pure verité, regardant l'une et l'autre des parties comme deux hommes de merite, mais qui en qualité d'hommes n'estoient pas infaillibles.

Et quand ceux qui condannent le Cid absolument verront qu'en beaucoup de lieux nous ne l'avons pas estimé absolument condannable, ils doivent considerer s'il est vray qu'Aristote y ait esté aussy mal obey en tout comme ils le pretendent, et si c'est une question bien resoluë dans sa doctrine que le profit soit la derniere fin de la Poésie et non pas le plaisir.

Ils doivent penser qu'il n'a peu plaire si universellement sans avoir beaucoup de choses agreables, et qu'ayant sceu gagner le cœur à tout un Peuple ce seroit une es-pece de temerité que de l'accuser d'avoir le goust mauvais en une matiere de laquelle il semble estre le Juge naturel,

.....
.....et regardant
.....parties contestantes
.....hommes qui ont.....
.....
estoint sujets à faillir.
Maintenant quand.....ab-
solument le Cid.....
.....
.....
.....
.....pretendent.

.....
.....
.....et qu'il

son travail. Comme elle cherche leur instruction, et non pas sa gloire, elle ne demande pas qu'ils prononcent en public contr'eux mesmes. Il luy suffit qu'ils se condamnent en particulier, et qu'ils se rendent en secret à leur propre raison. Cette mesme raison leur dira ce que nous leur disons, si tost qu'elle pourra reprendre sa premiere liberté: et secoüant le joug, qu'elle s'estoit laissé mettre par surprise, elle esprouvera qu'il n'y a que les fausses et imparfaites beautés, qui soient proprement de courtes tyrannies. Car les passions violentes bien exprimées, font souvent en ceux qui les voyent une partie de l'effect, qu'elles font en ceux qui les ressentent veritablement. Elles ostent à tous la liberté de l'esprit, et font que les uns se plaisent à voir représenter les fautes, que les autres se plaisent à commettre. Ce sont ces puissans mouvemens, qui ont tiré des Spectateurs du Cid cette grande approbation, et qui doivent aussi la faire excuser. L'Autheur s'est facilement rendu maistre de leur ame, apres y avoir excité le trouble et l'esmotion; leur esprit flatté par quelques endroits agreables, est devenu aisément flatteur de tout le reste, et les charmes esclatans de quelques parties leur ont donné de l'amour pour tout le corps. S'ils eussent esté moins ingeniieux, ils eussent esté moins sensibles; ils eussent veu les defaux que nous voyons

en cette Piece s'ils ne se fussent point trop
arrestés à en regarder les beautez, et si
on leur peut faire quelque reproche, au
moins n'est-ce pas celuy qu'un ancien
Poëte faisoit aux Thebains, quand il
disoit qu'ils estoient trop grossiers pour
estre trompés. Et sans mentir les sçavans
mesmes doivent souffrir avec quelque in-
dulgence les irregularités d'un Ouvrage,
qui n'auroit pas eu le bon-heur d'agréer
si fort au commun, s'il n'avoit des graces
qui ne sont pas communes.²⁷ Ils doivent
penser que l'abus estant si grand dans la
plus-part de nos Poëmes Dramatiques

il y auroit peut estre trop de rigueur à condamner absolument un homme, pour n'avoir pas surmonté la foiblesse, ou la negligence de son Siecle, et à estimer qu'il n'auroit rien fait du tout, parce qu'il n'auroit point fait de miracles.

mais qu'en tout cas il est
raisonnable que les Scavans qui y recon-
noissent des defaux les souffrent avec quel-
que indulgence, puisque ces defaux ont eu
le bonheur d'agreer au commun.

Enfin ils doivent se
representer que l'abus estant si general
dans la plupart de nos Poemes Drama-
tiques, soit pour l'election des Sujets, soit
pour leur Oeconomie, il y auroit quelque es-
pece de rigueur de demander à un homme
de ces Temps toutes les conditions qui y
sont requises par Aristote.

Ce qu'ils avoueront facilement lors qu'ils
se souviendront que
les Anciens ne les ont guerres
mieux observées que les nostres en beau-
coup de choses dans leurs Ouvrages, et que
le goust de nostre Peuple n'est pas encore
venu à ce point de delicatesse qu'il seroit
necessaire pour ne se contenter que de
viandes fort exquises et fort bien appres-
tées.

D'autre costé ceux qui voudroient qu'on
approuvast entierement ce Poeme par ce
qu'il a merité leur approbation en tout,
doivent croire que leur jugement n'est pas,

²¹⁷ This play on *commun* suggests another ministrant of the embellishing hand of the Abbe de Cérisy.

comme ils se l'imaginent, la regle et la mesure du bien et du mal de ces sortes d'Ouvrages, et qu'Aristote qui a philosophé avec toutes les lumieres que la Nature peut fournir à l'esprit humain, n'est pas de moindre autorité qu'eux, et n'est pas moins croyable s'il a desiré dans la Poesie dramatique d'autres conditions que celles du simple agreement pour la rendre parfaite.²¹⁸ Et quand mesme le plaisir en seroit la seule ils doivent avoir quelque egard à l'opinion de ceux qui reconnoissent de deux especes de plaisir, l'un parfait qui se produit par les seules choses parfaittes, l'autre imparfait qui est engendré par la nouveauté des choses plus tost que par leur beauté; et qui asseurent que le plaisir parfait est le seul qu'a pour but le Theatre. Ils doivent craindre de ressembler à la populace qui court aux prodiges, et qui estime indigne de sa curiosité ce qu'il y a de mieux ordonné dans les ouvrages de la Nature ou de l'Art, et qui satisfaitte de son ignorance se fasche lors qu'on la veut desabuser.²²⁰ Et s'ils esperent excuser les irregularités de ce Poème par celles des Poemes Anciens ils doivent se persuader que le mal qu'aura fait Euripide ou Seneque ne justifiera non plus celuy qu'aura fait Lope de Vega ou

.....
.....mal,
et.....
.....ne doit pas
estre moins escouté qu'eux
s'il.....
pour la rendre bonne.....
.....agreement.
Et.....
.....seule fin.....se sou-
venir qu'il y a
deux sortes.....
parfait
produit.....imparfait
.....
.....et croire
.....
.....
.....
prodiges, negligant²¹⁹ comme indigne.....
.....
.....
.....Que s'ils
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Toutesfois
ce qui l'excuse ne le justifie pas, et les fautes mesmes des Anciens qui semblent devoir estre respectées pour leur vieillesse, ou si on l'ose dire, pour leur immortalité, ne peuvent pas defendre les siennes.

²¹⁸ Bonne is written above *parfaite*, and then crossed out, before the final cancellation of the whole phrase.

²¹⁹ A light line in the margin extends from: *Aristote qui a philosophé*, to: *qu'a pour but le Theatre*. A heavier line and slightly overlapping the first, includes the next sentence from: *ils doivent craindre*, to: *on la veut desabuser*.

²²⁰ The *qui estime* was changed to *estimant* before *negligent* was finally adopted.

Guillen de Castro que l'ambition de Cesar celle de Charles le quint, ou la dissolution de Semiramis Reyne de Babylone celle de Jeanne Reyne de Naples. Encore les fautes des Poetes Anciens ont elles cet avantage sur celles des Modernes, ou qu'on les souffre par accoustumance, ou qu'on ne les condanne qu'avec respect, pource que la prescription du long temps les a privilegiées et que quelques unes mesmes sont plus anciennes que les regles, et sur tout qu'elles recompensent ce qui leur manque dans l'invention et la disposition par la riche et puissante expression des mœurs et des pensées. Au lieu que les defaux qui paroissent dans le gros des Ouvrages Modernes, n'ayant pour eux la longue possession du temps, et la plupart n'estant colorés ny par la sublimité des pensées, ny par la pureté de l'elocution, ny par la pompe du vers, il ne doit pas sembler estrange si on a de la peine à les souffrir. Que si les partisans du Cid pretendent descharger son Autheur François en rejettant ses fautes sur l'Espagnol qu'il a suvy nous ne croyons point cette defense recevable.

Il est vrai
que celles là ne sont presque considérées
qu'avec reverence, d'autant que les unes
estant faites devant les regles, sont nées
libres et hors de leur jurisdiction, et que
les autres par une longue durée ont comme
acquis une prescription legitime.

Mais cette faveur qui à peine met à couvert ces grands Hommes, ne passe point jusques à leurs successeurs. Ceux qui viennent apres eux heritent bien de leurs richesses, mais non pas de leurs privileges, et les vices d'Euripide ou de Seneque ne scauroient faire approuver ceux de Guillen de Castro. L'exemple de cét Autheur Espagnol seroit peut estre plus favorable à nostre Autheur François, qui s'estant comme engagé à marcher sur ses pas, sembloit le devoir suivre également parmy les espines et parmy les fleurs, et ne le pouvoir abandonner, quelque bon où mauvais chemin qu'il tinst, sans une espee d'infidelité. Mais outre que les fautes sont estimées volontaires quand on se les rend nécessaires volontairement, et que lors qu'on choisit une

[illegible]

servitude on la doit au moins choisir belle, il a bien fait voir luy-mesme par la liberté qu'il s'est donnée, de changer plusieurs endroits de ce Poème, qu'en ce qui regarde la Poésie on demeure encore libre apres cette sujétion. Il n'en est pas de mesme dans l'histoire, qu'on est obligé de rendre telle qu'on la reçoit. Il faut que la cre-
ance qu'on luy donne soit aveugle, et la deference que l'historien doit à la verité le dispence de celle que le Poète doit à la bien-seance. Mais comme cette Verité a peu de credit dans l'Art des beaux men-
songes, nous pensons qu'à son tour elle y doit ceder à la bien-seance, qu'estre inventeur et imitateur n'est icy qu'une
mesme chose, et que le Poète François qui nous a donné le Cid, est coupable de toutes les fautes qu'il n'y a pas corrigées.

Apres tout il faut avouer qu'encore qu'il ait fait choix d'une matiere defectueuse, il n'a pas laissé de faire esclater en beau-
coup d'endroits de si beaux sentimens, et de si belles paroles, qu'il a en quelque sorte imité le Ciel, qui en la dispensation de ses thresors et de ses graces, donne indifferemment la beauté du corps aux
meschantes ames et aux bonnes. Il faut confesser qu'il y a semé un bon nombre

.....tout, nous croyons
.....ou.....
.....
.....au Poeme Espagnol.....
.....
.....
.....qu'en quelques lieux.

Car en ces matieres où le Poète
est en liberté de tout faire nous croyons
qu'estre
Imitateur et Inventeur est une mesme
chose, et estimons que le François don-
nant ce Sujet à son país, estoit aussy bien
obligé d'oster à l'Espagnol tout ce
qu'il luy falloît oster, et de mettre en la
place tout ce qu'il y falloît mettre comme
il n'en a retranché qu'une partie et n'y a
remedié qu'en peu de lieux.

de vers excellens, et qui semblent avec quelque justice demander grace pour ceux qui ne le sont pas. Aussi les aurions-nous remarqués particulièrement, comme nous avons fait les autres, n'estoit qu'ils se découvrent assés d'eux-mesmes, et que d'ailleurs nous craindrions qu'en les ostant de leur situation nous ne leur ostassions une partie de leur grace, et que commettant une espece d'injustice pour vouloir estre trop justes, nous ne diminuassions leurs beautés, à force de les vouloir faire paroistre. Ce qu'il y a de mauvais dans l'ouvrage n'a pas laissé mesme de produire de bons effects, puis qu'il a donné lieu aux Observations qui ont esté faites dessus, et qui sont remplies de beaucoup de sçavoir et d'elegance. De sorte qu'on peut dire que ses defaux ont esté utiles, et que sans y penser il a profité aux lieux où il n'a sceu plaire.^m

Enfin nous concluons qu'encore
que le Sujet
du Cid ne soit pas bon, qu'il peche dans
son Desnouement, qu'il soit
.....bien-se-
ance y manque en beaucoup de lieux, aussi
bien que la bonne disposition du theatre,
.....bas.....
.....impures; Neantmoins la
naiveté.....
la force et.....

que

le Sujet

travailler . . . à ce que la Compagnie avait résolu que l'on droit à la louange des beaux endroits du Cid. See Introduction, p. 10.

Avec tout cela nous concluons qu'encore que selon la doctrine d'Aristote le Sujet du Cid soit defectueux, que le Desnouement n'en soit pas louable, qu'il soit chargé d'Episodes inutiles, que la bienséance n'y soit pas observée par tout, non plus que la bonne Disposition du Theatre, et qu'il y ait beaucoup de vers bas et de façons de parler impures, neantmoins la naïveté et la vehemence de ses passions, l'eslevation et la delicatesse de plusieurs

²²¹ This passage may have been the result of that conference in which Chapelain, Desmarests and Cérisy met in the apartments of the latter: *pour*

A	B	E
<p>de ses pensées et cet agreement inexplicable qui se mesle dans tous ces defaux luy donnent un notable avantage sur le commun des Poemes qui ont paru sur la Scene françoise jusques à present.</p>	<p>.....ses defaux.....un rang considerable entre (beaucoup des) les meilleurs Poemes qui ayent paru.....</p>	<p>.....pensées, et cet agréement..... .....defaux, luy ont acquis..... les Poèmes François de ce genre qui ont le plus donné de satisfaction. Si son Autheur ne doit pas toute sa reputation à son merite, il ne la doit pas toute à son bon-heur, et la Nature luy a esté assez liberale, pour excuser la Fortune si elle luy a esté prodigue.</p>
		Fin.

Avec Privilege de sa Majesté, signé, par le Roy en son Conseil, Conrart, et Scellé du Grand Seau. Donné à Paris le vingt sixiesme jour de Novembre, 1637. Portant defenses à tous autres qu'à JEAN CAMUSAT, d'imprimer le present Volume intitulé. *Les Sentimens de l'Académie Françoise sur la Tragi-comedie du Cid*, pendant l'espace de dix ans sur les peines qui sont Contenuës audit Privilege.

The University of Minnesota

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THE LITURGICAL ELEMENT IN THE EARLIEST FORMS OF THE MEDIEVAL DRAMA

**WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE ENGLISH AND GERMAN PLAYS**

BY

PAUL EDWARD KRETZMANN, Ph.D.



MINNEAPOLIS

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PREFACE

As indicated in the introduction below, the present author is by no means the first to point out liturgical *formulae* in the religious drama. He has merely gone somewhat farther in the application of the idea than has hitherto been attempted. It is also proper to acknowledge that liturgical tags may in many instances have found place in the religious drama by virtue of their having been transferred thither as part of epical or homiletic source material at a later stage than that of the dramatic office in the church service. There can be no question but that the liturgy also underlies a great portion of medieval religious literature and may therefore readily have been a part of secondary sources. During the preparation of this monograph, it was necessary to consult also epical and lyrical poetry of the Middle Ages to some extent, and it became evident with increasing clearness that these branches of literature were influenced largely by the liturgy of the church. In the German field the poem "Biblische geschichte von der Beschaffunge diser Welt bisz aufs jungst gericht gereymt," and in the English field "The Northern Passion," are cases in point.

There is also, no doubt, a certain reactive influence of secular upon religious literature. The English "Harrowing of Hell" is possibly an instance of this kind. If it were possible to discover more manuscripts of this particular work, the difficulty might be solved. Whether the contention advanced a few years ago that this play may have originated with the work of Cynewulf can ever be sustained by the discovery of sufficient evidence, is more than doubtful. In the case of the great body of plays, except those on apochryphal subjects and from apochryphal sources, the contention of the thesis seems to be borne out by the evidence presented even when due allowance is made for the post-liturgical introduction of liturgical materials.

The preparation of the monograph has been a delightful task, not only on account of the interesting material with which it is concerned, but especially on account of the help and inspiration of Professor Hardin Craig, who directed the progress of the work, and to whose unflagging interest and assistance the author freely acknowledges his indebtedness. To all others, also, members of the teaching staff of the University of Minnesota, as well as friends that have assisted with advice or interest, the author wishes to express his grateful appreciation.

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THE LITURGICAL ELEMENT IN THE EARLIEST FORMS OF THE MEDIEVAL DRAMA

INTRODUCTION

Considering the attractiveness of the subject, it is not surprising to find that a great many investigators in the field of the early drama have turned their attention to the Latin and early vernacular plays and have drawn conclusions of various kinds in regard to their sources and development. For the purpose of a brief but comprehensive survey of the entire field of the early medieval drama, the various writers may be divided into four groups, with the understanding, however, that the groups are not sharply defined, but to some extent overlap each other.

Ecclesiastical Writers

The first group includes early writers on ecclesiastical subjects, particularly on the division of the church year, on liturgical customs, the language and hymns of the Catholic Church, writers who formed a fairly correct estimate as to the connection of the liturgical plays with certain festivals. It is really remarkable how correct are many of the deductions of Alt (*Christlicher Cultus: Das Kirchenjahr*) (1846-52). Without in any way laying stress upon the circumstance, he recognizes the liturgical connection of the plays of Easter, Christmas, Ascension, Pentecost, Epiphany, and others, and offers a good deal of material in support of his casual observations. At almost the same time, Rock, in England (*The Church of Our Fathers*) gave a detailed description of some of the principal ceremonies connected with Christmas, Easter, Innocents' Day, The Boy Bishop, Palm Sunday, and others, facilitating the understanding of the structure of some of the liturgical plays connected with these festivals. About this time, also, (1850) Du Cange (*Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*) furnished brief definitions and descriptions of some of the customs in connection with the most important Church festivals during the Middle Ages. Du Meril, who was one of the first to publish liturgical plays (*Origines latines du Théâtre moderne*) (1849), made notes of the striking similarity between the plays and the liturgy, and gave invaluable hints to the investigator. In a similar manner, Gautier (*Origines du Théâtre moderne: Les Tropes*) has been of great service to modern research in the field by showing the origin and development of the trope. His conclusion is that the principal tropes for Christmas, the Feast of the Innocents, Epiphany,

Easter, The Ascension, Pentecost, and those to the Holy Virgin date from the ninth and early tenth centuries, those of the Purification, Visitation, Assumption, Nativity of Mary, and John the Baptist from the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

General Studies

The second group includes such writers as have made a general study of the field of the early drama or of the mystery plays, with only incidental reference to probable Biblical or ecclesiastical sources. Hone (*Ancient Mysteries Described*) did not go beyond his caption. Ebert (*Die englischen Mystereien*) also confines himself to a description of the mystery plays. Wharton (*History of English Poetry*) speaks of the public pageants, but is more concerned about language and style than about probable sources. Scherer (*History of German Literature*, 1:239) says: "The starting-point of all these plays (mysteries), the origin of the Christian drama, is to be traced to the dramatic embellishment of the Church festivals." Wilcken (*Geschichte der geistlichen Spiele in Deutschland*) treats the subject in much the same manner, also without going into details. The same is true of Klein (*Geschichte des Dramas*, 12 and 13). Petit de Julleville (*Les Mysteres*) bases his deductions on the investigations of Gautier and finds direct or indirect liturgical connection in the following plays: Easter, Christmas, Sponsus, Prophetæ, Festum Asinorum, Herod, Rachel, Peregrini. He thinks (1:18 ff) that the Planctus is the basis of the Passion Plays. Symonds (*Shakspeare's Predecessors in the English Drama*, 93) says of some of the liturgical plays: "The descent of the angel Gabriel at the Feast of Annunciation, the procession of the Magi at Epiphany, the birth of Christ at Christmas, the resurrection from the tomb at Eastertide, may be mentioned among the more obvious and common of these shows invented by the clergy to illustrate the chief events of Christian history." Hohlfeld (*Die englischen Kollektivmysterien, Anglia*, 11:219.245) writes as follows: "Den übereinstimmenden Grundstock der altenglischen Kollektivmysterien bilden mit einer einzigen, sich aber leicht erklärenden Ausnahme (Harrowing of Hell) nur solche Stoffe, die auf biblische Quellen zurückgehen. Diese bemerkenswerte Übereinstimmung beruht aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach durchaus nicht auf ursprünglicher gegenseitiger Beeinflussung unserer Kollektiven, als vielmehr darauf, dass bei Abfassung derselben die umfangreichen kirchlichen Mysterien, welche sich im Anschluss an die kirchlichen Festlichkeiten bei Gelegenheit der hohen Feste herausgebildet hatten, zu Grunde lagen." Ungemach (*Die Quellen der fünf ersten Chester Plays*, 7) writes in much the same strain: "Dass die Verfasser der neuen in die Volkssprache übertragenen Mysterien die früheren liturgischen Bearbeitungen nicht unberücksichtigt liessen, war

teils aus religiösen Rücksichten, teils aus praktischen Gründen geboten, und diese Annahme wird durch die zahlreichen in den Mysteriensammlungen vorhandenen lateinischen Zitate nur bestätigt Alle ursprünglich in den Kollektivmysterien zusammengefassten Stoffe mit Ausnahme von 'Harrowing of Hell' gehen auf die biblische Quelle zurück."

Other writers might be quoted as belonging to this group, notably Collier, who was a pioneer in the field; but those mentioned may be said to be fairly representative. They all acknowledge the influence of ecclesiastical sources and some of them even make use of the results of research, but they themselves make no special effort to determine the extent or the significance of ecclesiastical influence. There is another writer who occupies a somewhat unique position, although he may be said to belong to this group. D'Ancona (*Origini del Teatro italiano*) gives the origin of the medieval liturgical play as earlier investigators had represented it, but he claims a somewhat different means of development for Italy, namely the songs of the Flagellantes. His contention, however, as will be seen in the various divisions below, seems hardly to be borne out by the specimens of the early plays which he adduces himself.

Writers on Liturgical Sources

In the third group of writers we find a definite recognition of the liturgical element in certain plays on the basis of tropes and, to some extent, of homilies. The discovery of Sepet (*Les Prophetes du Christ*) (1867) that the liturgical Prophet plays are based upon the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon "Contra Judaeos" was the most important one in the early days of specialized investigation. Milchsack (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*) began the study of the Easter plays in detail, and based the Quem quaeritis trope on the Vulgate. Lange (*Lateinische Osterfeiern*) (1887) took up the study of the Officium Sepulcri and published an indispensable monograph on the subject. His book contains a careful compilation of texts, both of the Quem quaeritis trope and of the liturgical plays based upon it, arranged in progressive series to show successive additions and expansions.

The result of the investigations of Sepet and Lange has been utilized by subsequent writers in the field in general. Some few scholars have made application of the same principles to other plays, while others have been content with adducing additional matter in corroboration of the theories which had been already set forth. Davidson (*Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, 28, 31, 47, 162, 171) states his idea as follows: "I do not know that it would betoken any unaccountable originality if some priest, thoroughly familiar with the Gospel passages, and with the Victimae paschali with its introductory verses and response, should have borne all in mind while shaping the Easter drama How the

Resurrection cycle was joined to the Christmas cycle, and how the resulting cycle of Christ's life was, through the aid of the prophecies, extended back to the creation of the world, will be considered in the following chapters . . . Little by little the plays that clustered about the two most touching festivals of the Church, the Crucifixion and the Birth of Christ, approached each other, and the whole antecedent Bible story, together with the doom of saint and sinner, fell naturally into place . . ."

Miss Bates (*The English Religious Drama*, 1, 6) summarizes the conclusions of previous writers in a similar manner: "The romantic drama, born of the church and nourished by the church, came in time . . . The Passion (Mystery) Play, in which the modern drama takes its rise, itself sprang from the liturgical service of the Roman Church . . . Passion (Mystery) Plays extended back, filling the gap between the Easter play and the Christmas play, through the life of our Lord." Ten Brink, with his usual keen insight, one might almost say, foresight, sums up the situation as follows (*History of English Literature*, 2:234): "The cradle of the Medieval Drama was the Church. The Roman Catholic liturgy contained a multitude of germs for the formation of a drama and still contains them, though in a smaller degree than before: songs alternating between the priest and the congregation or the choir representing the congregation; recitative readings in appointed parts, as in the story of the Passion; plastic decorations and representations; solemn processions; mimic acting, of which the symbolism had sometimes a very realistic coloring; all these elements were thus present, and by their combination and mutual interblending a dramatic form must necessarily have been produced . . . The recitative dialogue was based on the Biblical text or on the prescribed portions of the ritual." Weber (*Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst*) attempts to show that the dramatic representation is the basis of the iconographic representation. Pollard (*English Miracle Plays*, xiii) says: "The dramatic representations which we . . . describe are popular in their aim, liturgical in their origin, taking as their subjects events which belonged strictly either to sacred history or to accepted legends." Ward (*A History of English Dramatic Literature*, 1:19 f) shows that there is a dramatic nucleus in the liturgy, the pantomimic, the epical, and the lyrical element being present. He says that the Office of the Shepherds was performed on Christmas Day, others of the same kind, such as those of the Infants, the Star, the Sepulchre, being celebrated each in its season. Brandl (*Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*) and Körting (*Grundriss der Geschichte der englischen Literatur*) offer secondary material only, and do not investigate sources. Meyer (*Fragmenta burana*) bases his remarks to a great extent on Gautier and on Sepet. The original of the lament of Rachel he finds in Matt. 2:18. He denies that the Beauvais Daniel and the Daniel of Hilary have any

connection with the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon, "Contra Judaeos," or its influence. Gayley (*Plays of Our Forefathers*, 3, 27) writes: The tragedy of early Christian civilization had its germ and spiritual effect in things religious The tragedy of the new era had its roots in the spring of Christian feeling: it breathed the air of Christian ritual The Latin (of the Officium Resurrectionis) is the Latin of the Gospels in the Vulgate The play of Adam is historically interesting because evidently an outgrowth of a processional representation of the Prophets, and as such a connecting link between the church sermon and the popular drama." Gregory Smith (*The Transition Period*, 237, 240) writes as follows: "Some critical difficulties beset us in the interpretation of the earlier stages of the European drama. There is the question of origin: whether the earliest plays are the direct outcome of the liturgical practice of the Church by a process of glossing and expansion, in both a literary and spectacular sense The drama starts from a strong liturgical basis, concerned chiefly with the central story of Eastertide and the ceremonial of the Sepulchre. In this first stage the germs of later change are present—forces which were ultimately to secularize the dramatic idea or, in other words, to transform the religious motif in whose behalf they had been called into action." Matthews (*A Study of the Drama*), Garnett and Gosse (*History of English Literature*), Cledat (*Literature Dramatique du Moyen Age*), and others present similar summaries. Hemingway (*The English Nativity Plays*, vii, 266 ff.) writing only on one phase of the subject, is dependent to some extent upon Sepet, when he writes: "The ultimate source of the drama is in symbolism. The central point of the Christmas play is the manger, or praesepe, erected in the churches at Christmastime After the introduction of Israel it was natural to include Abraham, Isaac, and soon even Adam and Eve. Thus from the sermon of Augustine developed all our Old Testament dramas Sepet's theory that all the Old Testament plays are merely outgrowths from the Prophet play is well illustrated by the Abraham plays in England." Kamann (*Die Quellen der York Plays*) and Falcke (*Die Quellen des sogenannten Ludus Coventriae*) confine themselves almost entirely to the tracing of Biblical and Apocryphal sources, and to patristic parallels. In the presentation of the writers of this group, there is, then, a peculiar uniformity as regards the results of earlier investigations.

The matter has been clarified in some measure by the publication of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, which, in turn, depends to a great extent upon the work of Creizenach and Chambers. Chambers (*The Medieval Stage*) made a very careful survey of the accumulated material and offered some conclusions of his own. His work will be referred to in the proper chapters. Creizenach (*Geschichte des neueren Dramas*), of whose first edition Chambers makes quite extensive use, recognizes the

liturgical element in the plays of the Easter series, in the Pastores, Slaughter, Magi, Prophetæ. He often makes no mention of the direct liturgical connection and refers to Biblical sources only. He regards the Prophetæ as the source of the Old Testament plays. In regard to the Passion play he writes: "Ein grundsätzlicher Unterschied zwischen Passionsspielen und Osterspielen ist meiner Meinung nach nicht anzunehmen." These and other views will be referred to at the proper time. Cady (*The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries*) offers some material, principally in the form of tables, in support of the theory of Chambers of the liturgical basis of "the Birth, the Resurrection, and possibly the Passion plays." His researches extend only to the liturgical plays, and do not include the liturgy itself.

Recent Investigators

The fourth group includes principally investigators of the present time who have done and are doing work in determining the liturgical sources of the early medieval drama. The first of these is Nölle, whose distinction lies in this, that he furnished a complete and fairly exhaustive study of all the texts of the Fifteen Signs of Judgment (*Beiträge*: 6). While his work is principally historical research and textual criticism, it is nevertheless of great value in studying the liturgical connection of this particular eschatological subject. Reuschel (*Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*) has made a complete and exhaustive study of the German Doomsday plays. His tables and charts are arranged in a manner which makes their understanding easy. Anz (*Die lateinischen Magierspiele*) has made a very thorough study of the liturgical connections of the Epiphany play. Even with the discovery of new texts his work will retain its value. Professor Young is not only an indefatigable collector of plays, which he has edited with notes in various journals (*Publications of Modern Language Association, Modern Language Notes, Modern Philology, Wisconsin Academy of Sciences*), but he has also made investigations of special parts of the liturgical field. His "Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play" and his notes on "The Harrowing of Hell" serve as more than introductions to the respective subjects, while the articles, "Officium Pastorum" and "Origin of the Easter Plays," are so exhaustive as to represent, very likely, the last word in regard to these questions. Professor Craig, in his paper, "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays," in which he limited the conclusions of M. Sepet to the Prophetæ and included many hints in regard to other plays, gave a new impetus to the investigations in regard to the liturgical influence in the earliest forms of the medieval drama.

So far as the editing of Latin and vernacular plays of this period of the drama is concerned, the following list contains the names of the prin-

cipal investigators: Du Meril (*Origines du théâtre moderne*, including Easter, Christmas, Rachel, Epiphany, *Prophetæ*, *Sponsus*, and other plays), Coussemaker (*Drames liturgiques du moyen Age*), Gaste (*Les drames liturgiques de la cathédrale de Rouen*), Schmeller (*Carmina burana*), Meyer (*Fragmenta burana*), Milchsack, and shortly after him, Lange (*Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*), Cloetta (*Sponsus*), Anz (*Die lateinischen Magierspiele*), Young (*Ordo Joseph, Easter, Christmas, and Magi Plays*), Sharp (*Digby Plays. Weavers' Play of Coventry*), Furnivall (*Digby Mysteries*), Deimling (*Chester Plays*), Craig (*Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*), Miss L. T. Smith (*York Plays*), Halliwell (*Ludus Coventriae*), Collier (*Five Miracle Plays*), Wright (*Chester Plays*), Pollard (*Towneley Mysteries*), Waterhouse (*Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*), Reuschel (*Luzerner Antichrist*), Wackernell (*Passionsspiele aus Tirol*), Froning (*Frankfurter Passionsspiele, Schauspiele des Mittelalters*), Luzarche (*Adam: Drame anglonormand*), Rothschild (*Mistère du Viel Testament*), Mone (*Schauspiele des Mittelalters*), and others.

Historical Summary

An examination of all the work done in the field of the early medieval drama up to the present time shows that the recognition of the liturgical element has been confined chiefly to three principal festivals of the church year: Easter, Christmas, and Epiphany. The development of the Easter plays, through the liturgical play of the *Visitatio*, from the nucleus of a trope, has been accepted for many years. The nucleus of the *Shepherds' play*, and beyond that, of the *Officium Pastorum*, has been found mainly in two tropes of Christmas. The play of Herod and the Three Wise Men, with its sequel, the Slaughter of the Innocents, has not been traced so fully, only the *Magi* or *Stella* having been investigated exhaustively. The relation of the *Prophet plays* and the liturgical *Prophetæ* to the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Contra Judæos*, used as *lectio* during Advent and on the Vigil of Christmas, has been demonstrated. The Old Testament plays and the Passion plays have just begun to receive their share of attention. In no case have the various steps of the growth and development of the plays from liturgy to mystery plays been shown, with the full quota of citations from the plays in the several languages.

The history of this gradual development has indeed been presented, both in German and English, especially by Chambers and Creizenach in the books mentioned above, and in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, so far as research has made it available. It appears that the plays of Easter and Christmas and Epiphany had essentially the same development. In every case a trope or sequence, which had been fitted to a part of the service music as an embellishment, was expanded into a

dialogue by antiphonal singing. To give to the persons of this dialogue the corresponding Biblical names and add the dramatic action was a step which followed as a matter of course. When the little dramatic scene became too long to be included in the regular service, it was appended to the service as a liturgical play or Ordo. With the addition of new features, especially such as were of a comic nature, the dignity of the Church could no longer countenance the performances inside the place of worship. Performances were then given in the church-yard or on the town commons. From early times translations of the speeches in the plays were added to make them intelligible to the audience. And finally, the Latin in the speeches was reduced to a minimum or confined to the cues and stage directions, and the entire play proper was given in the vernacular. In this last form, the popular plays were often brought together, especially in Germany and England, in the form of cycle plays.

It appears, then, that the plays with which we are here concerned—the liturgical plays of the church services, the semi-liturgical plays separated from the regular church services, the semi-vernacular plays which had left the church in most cases and added extra-ecclesiastical features, and the vernacular single or cycle plays—are, with very few exceptions, not the product of individual authorship, but the result of slow growth, of gradual accretion. This growth took place in two ways. In many cases, additional material, episodes, and scenes were added from the liturgy. In other cases, apocryphal and legendary material was added, or patristic and homiletic expositions were incorporated. There also occurred a great deal of borrowing from one to another between the larger centers of play cycles, and a transposition of minor incidents.

Further Liturgical Sources

But the investigations which have been outlined here have not been carried far enough. Though *trope* and *homily* have received considerable attention as sources of the medieval drama, the importance of the *responses*, *antiphons*, and *versicles* in the church services has either been overlooked entirely, or has not been recognized with sufficient distinctness. And yet a study of the liturgy shows that peculiar emphasis attaches to the responses and antiphons.

The term *antiphon* originally denoted alternating song or chanting. By the time of Gregory the Great it meant merely a verse or formula which the precentor chanted and which was repeated by the choir. Antiphons were sung both at the beginning and at the end of psalms on great festival days. The antiphon was impressive, not only on account of its frequent repetition, but also because it brought the contents of the respective psalm into connection with the respective festival, and in this way

often gave the meaning of the mystery or symbolism contained in the chanted psalm or prophetic passage. "The antiphon gives the key to the liturgical and mystical meaning [of the Scripture passage]; it contains the fundamental thought." (*Catholic Encyclopedia*.) The same is true of the responsoria and versicles. They were the answer of the congregation to the reading of the various lectiones, not only the epistle and gospel lessons, but also the homilies and special readings. They contain the dramatic nuclei of the episodes presented in the lectiones and very often carry the entire story in a connected manner. This arrangement, including the repetition of the most prominent features of the festival story, served also a mnemonic purpose. The constant reiteration served to impress the outline of the story upon the memories, and it answered this purpose long after the meaning of other parts of the services had been forgotten.

The predominating influence of this portion of the liturgy, as stated above, has never been recognized or demonstrated in its full extent and influence on the medieval drama up to the mystery play. And yet, a study of the early plays, both in the original Latin and in the later vernacular development, shows that the plot-outline of the plays, both in stage directions and other cues, is taken from the liturgy and maintains an identity of structure which compels attention by its very uniformity. This uniformity of plot construction in the German and English, as well as in the French and Italian plays, and the peculiar outcropping of the same antiphonal tags in all these languages is an argument for their common liturgical basis. Besides the division of the church year into seasonal groups is a most significant one with reference to the smaller grouped episodes of the Latin plays, as well as the later corresponding divisions of the mysteries.

Divisions of Church Year

The church year opens with the season of Advent, the season of preparation for Christmas. The early part of this division is devoted to eschatological subjects. In the latter part, especially on and after the fourth Sunday in Advent, the Christmas theme is brought into the foreground. The Christmas festival itself is a very prominent one; it has the customary Vigil and Octave. The Feast of the Innocents is included in the Octave. The festival of Epiphany on January 6 ushers in the story of Christ in the glory of his childhood and early ministry. The season of Septuagesima follows after that of Epiphany. It was devoted to the ministry of Christ in its principal dominical services, and to the Old Testament story in its secondary dominical and in its ferial services. The Old Testament stories were continued in these services up to the third Quadragesimal Sunday (Laetare), while the principal services, beginning

with Quinquagesima, were given over to the story of Christ's later ministry, including the last journey to Jerusalem. Holy Week was devoted to the Great Passion, both in readings and responses, beginning with the entry of Christ into Jerusalem and culminating in the great tragedy of Good Friday, in the death and burial of Christ. The Great Sabbath was the day which had been devoted of old to the story of the descent of Christ into hell. On Easter day and on all the days of its Octave was told the story of the resurrection and the subsequent events. The Easter season merged into the Ascension and Pentecost festivals. In the second part of the church year, beginning with Trinity Sunday, great festivals were rare. The only special features that stood out were the Mary festivals and a few special saints' days. On these days, the services were usually very elaborate and beautiful, very often full of dramatic intensity.

Statement of Thesis

In accordance with these very important facts, I now venture to offer the material presented in this paper in support of the theory that the stock plays of the early medieval age, which are concerned with Biblical or apocryphal subjects, all contain in a more or less pronounced degree the liturgical element. The plays were either based directly upon the liturgy and taken from it, as were the early Latin plays, or the suggestion for their composition and their episodal structure was taken from the liturgy of some festival day or from some minor liturgical cycle clearly discernible in the breviaries. I think I have gathered sufficient material to show more fully and conclusively than has hitherto been done that the Judgment (Eschatological) Plays belong to the Advent season, the Annunciation and Visitation to Advent and Christmas, the Prophetæ to Christmas, the Pastores to Christmas, Rachel to the Feast of the Innocents, Magi to Epiphany, Purification of Mary to Candlemas Day, Christ and the Doctors to the first Sunday after Epiphany, the Old Testament Plays to Septuagesima and the beginning of Lent, the Ministry Plays to the Lenten season, and the Passion Plays to Holy Week. The Planctus is built up of Great Sabbath material and Good Friday lessons, the Descensus chiefly of Great Sabbath material. The Resurrection Plays belong to Easter and its Octave. The Ascension and Pentecost Plays are based on services of that season. The Mary Plays are based on material of the Mary festival services.

Since the theory as outlined here and substantiated in the body of the dissertation is a general theory as to sources and development, it follows that the investigation moves along broad lines. The presentation, however, will follow to a certain degree the general outline of similar discussions. Reference is always made to previous research. Epical sources of

whatever nature have not been included in this investigation, except where the nature of the discussion absolutely demanded it. A liturgical survey of the season concerned in the respective chapter usually serves as introduction. The liturgical plays are then taken up in approximate chronological and logical order and examined as to manner of composition and the presence of liturgical tags. The plays of the transitional stage are next discussed and compared with the liturgy in regard to their dependence upon the church service books. Finally, the liturgical element, of whatever nature it may be, is traced also in the secularized vernacular plays in the various languages. Wherever it has seemed necessary, special tables and reference summaries have been introduced.

It must be remembered, finally, that the presence of liturgical tags, whether these be in the nature of tropes, lectiones, antiphons, or responses, may be said to be likely to occur in inverse proportion to the distance from the liturgy in the development of the plays. In the liturgical plays, the Latin tags are basic; in fact, the verbal agreement with the liturgy is perfect. In the transitional stage the liturgical element appears mainly in plot-outline, in stage directions and cues. In the vernacular plays there is usually either a trace of liturgical influence in the Latin tags of plot-outline,¹ or the sequence of episodes is that of the liturgy. Very often, also, there is a difference in the prominence of the liturgical element, the German and French plays in some cases being closer to the liturgy than are the English.

The treatment presupposes an acquaintance with the elements of liturgics and with the general history of the early drama. However, in order to facilitate understanding, I have introduced, to mark agreements with the liturgy, lettered references to the principal tables which appear at the end of the paragraphs on the liturgical plays in the most important sections. These cross-references do not appear in the sections which contain a *general* discussion of the part in question.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL OR JUDGMENT PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

- Sponsus. Cloëtta, *Romania*, 22:177; Du Meril, *Les Origines du Theatre Moderne*, 233.
 Das Spiel von den klugen und törichten Jungfrauen, Eisenach 1322. Edited by L. Bechstein.
 Oberhessisches Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen. Edited by Max Rieger, *Germania*, 10:311.
 Jerome's, Augustine's, Comestor's, Bede's texts of the Fifteen Signs of Doom.
 The texts of the Fifteen Signs of Doom offered by Nölle, *Beiträge*, 6:413.
 Ludus de Adventu et Interitu Antichristi of Tegernsee. *Migne Patrologia Latina*, 213:947. Appendix in Wright, *Chester Plays*; Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Part 1:206.
 Antichrist and Doomsday Play in D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, 141.
 Summary of the German Doomsday Plays and the Luzerner Antichrist, in Reuschel, *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*.
 Ezechiel and Antichrist Plays of the Chester Cycle.
 Doomsday Plays of the Chester, Coventry, Towneley, and York Cycles.

The uncertainty in regard to the origin of the Eschatological or Judgment Plays, including that of the Ten Virgins, the Fifteen Signs of Doom, the Antichrist, and Doomsday, which was noticeable during the first decades of research in this field,¹ has recently given way to more or less definite statements connecting these subjects with the Advent season. Professor Craig, in his article "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays"² refers to a lectio of Festum Innocentium as having probable significance as to the original position of the Doomsday Plays. Chambers³ says quite definitely that the Sponsus was "performed either in Advent itself or at the Christmas season," and that the Antichristus "was almost certainly performed at Advent." Creizenach,⁴ who devotes a good deal of space to the discussion of these plays, concludes: "In diesen Dramen fehlt jede Anlehnung an die Liturgie eines bestimmten Festtages, doch bestand wohl ursprünglich ein Zusammenhang mit der Verlesung des Evangeliums vom jüngsten Tage, die am letzten Sonntage des Kirchenjahres stattfindet." Reuschel says:⁵ "Es musz fraglich bleiben, ob die dramatischen Darstellungen des Weltgerichts den gleichen liturgischen Ursprung haben wie die szenischen Oster-und Weihnachtsfeiern. Die Annahme besitzt aber

¹ Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2 62, note. Pex, "Ludus paschalis (?) de adventu et interitu Antichristi."

² *Modern Philology*, 10 487, note.

³ 2 62

⁴ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 70.

⁵ *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*, 2.

einen hohen Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit . . . Eine Beziehung zur Liturgie ist in diesem kurzen Schauspiele, dem Sponsus, nicht deutlich zu bemerken." He also writes: "Es bot sich ein zwangloser Anschluss der eschatologischen Dramen an die Verlesung der Adventsevangelien dar." The probability of liturgical influence for all the plays of the eschatological group is thus quite generally conceded, though Creizenach grants this probability with some hesitation.

General Liturgical Survey of Advent

That the end and the beginning of the church year were given over to eschatological subjects in the services, is evident as early as Pamelius and Gregory the Great. According to the Comes, the last Sunday after Pentecost in every year was to have as Gospel lectio Matth. 24:15-28, the prophecy of the end of the world.⁶ Chambers calls attention to the fact that a part of 2 Thess. 2, which contains the prophecies concerning Antichrist and the end of the world, was read at Mass on Saturday in the Quatuor Tempora of Advent, according to the York Missal, i, 10.⁷ Gueranger⁸ shows that the entire season of Advent was to be a time of penance and preparation in expectation of the coming of the Lord. He quotes from the "III. Sermo de Adventu" by Peter of Blois: "There are three comings of our Lord . . . The first was at midnight, according to those words of the Gospel: At midnight there was a cry made, Lo the Bridegroom cometh! . . . We are now in the second Coming . . . As for the third Coming, it is most certain that it will be, most uncertain when it will be . . . When they shall say, peace and security, saith the Apostle, then shall sudden destruction come upon them, as the pains upon her that is with child, and they shall not escape . . . The Judgment Day will be a day of wrath, on which, as David and the Sibyl have foretold, the world will be reduced to ashes; a day of weeping and fear."

In accordance with these principles, the antiphons of Advent very often touch upon the subject of the end of the world and the events which were to precede it. The following list will bear this out.

Ant: Ecce dominus veniet, et omnes Sancti eius cum eo: et erit in die illa lux magna. All.

Vs: Ecce apparebit Dominus super nubem candidam.

Resp: Et cum eo Sanctorum millia.

Ant: Ecce in nubibus coeli Dominus veniet cum potestate magna. All.

Ant: Ecce apparebit Dominus et non mentietur.

There is a prose of the eleventh century, in which the passage occurs:

⁶ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 429.

⁷ Chambers, 2:62, note 4.

⁸ *The Liturgical Year*, 1:34, et passim.

Adventu primo justifica,
In secundo nosque libera.

In a hymn for Advent we read:

Ut cum tribunal Judicis Damnabit igni noxios,
Et vox amica debitum Vocabit ad coelum pios.
Non esca flammaram nigros Volvamus inter turbines;
Vultu Dei sed compotes Coeli fruamur gaudiis.

A canticle of the Last Judgment⁹ contains passages of great dramatic intensity:

Dum veneris judicare saeculum per ignem,
Vix justus salvabitur; et ego miser, ubi parebo?
Vox de coelis: O vos mortui, qui jacetis in sepulchris, surgite et occurrite
Dicet justis ad dexteram positis: Accedite, dilecti filii
Post haec dicet ad laevam positis:
Nescio vos, cultores criminis

This canticle reminds one strongly of the hymn, "Dies irae, dies illa," which was very widely known and is used extensively to this day. The Gospel sequence, Luke 21: Erunt signa in sole, et luna . . . , of the end of the world, was used during Advent. The book of the prophet Ezechiel was read at the end of the church year.

Advent Liturgy of Sarum

An examination of the Advent service liturgy in the Sarum Breviary also shows that the eschatological subjects occupied a most prominent place. They may even be said to have been dominant, as the following list shows:

Ant: Ecce Dominus veniet, et omnes Sancti ejus cum eo: Et erit in die illa lux magna. All.

Vs: Ecce apparebit Dominus super nubem candidam.

Resp: Et cum eo Sanctorum milia. (Page x.)

A hymn for Advent reads in part:

Judexque cum post aderis
Rimari facta pectoris,
Reddens vicem pro abditis
Justisque regnum pro bonis,
Non demum artemur malis
Pro qualitate criminis:
Sed cum beatis compotes
Simus perennes caelibes. (xviii.)

Beginning with the Second Nocturn of the First Sunday in Advent, a series of lectiones begins which are taken from a Sermo beati Maximi

⁹ Gueranger, 1:180.

episcopi on the end of the world. The following passages give an idea of the scope of the sermon:

"Frequenter audivimus sacris literis praedicatum prius quam Dominus Jesus Christus adveniat antichristum regnaturum. Qui ita tenebras humano generi suae pravitate infundet, ut lucem veritatis nemo paene perspiciat, et caligine propria operiens mentes hominum caecitatem quandam spiritualibus oculis exhibebit. Nec mirum si diabolus emittat iniquitatis tenebras, cum ipse sit nox omnium peccatorum. Ad huius igitur noctis tetram caliginem depellendam velut fulgor quoddam Christus adveniet. Et sicut lucente die nox subvertitur, ita coruscante Salvatore antichristus effugabitur . . . Potest enim accipi quod ait: Erunt duo in lecto uno: Unus assumetur, scilicet Christianorum plebs; et unus relinquitur, populus Judaeorum . . . Tunc igitur Christianorum beatus populus assumetur in gloriam . . ." (xxiii ff.)

On the Second Sunday in Advent this sermon was concluded and supplemented by lectiones from a Omelia beati Gregorii papae on the same subject, from which the following passage may suffice:

"Quid enim Dominus virtutes caelorum, nisi Angelos, Archangelos, Thronos, Dominationes, Principatus, et Potestates appellat? quae in adventu districti iudicis nostris tunc oculis visibiliter apparebunt, ut districte tunc a nobis exigant, hoc quod nos modo invisibilis conditor aequanimiter portat. Ubi et subditur: Et tunc videbunt filium hominis venientem in nubibus in potestate magna et majestate . . ."

The Fifteen Signs of Judgment were also included in the Advent liturgy, in the Augustinian acrostic: *Judicii signum* . . .

After this brief examination of the liturgy, showing that the eschatological subjects pervaded the entire liturgy of the Advent season and were predominant at certain times, any evidence found in the Judgment Plays in the form of liturgical tags will be doubly significant.

The first play of this series is that of the Ten Virgins, and of the texts of this play the earliest one is the Latin-French "*Sponsus*."¹⁰ Reuschel¹¹ says of its date. "Es stammt aus der ersten Hälfte des zwölften Jahrhunderts, gehört also einer wesentlich späteren Zeit an als die ältesten Osterfeiern." Other investigators (Wright, Michel, Du Meril) fix the date in the eleventh century.

The play is a rhymed presentation of the Gospel story of the Ten Virgins, Matth. 25:1-13, with certain other speeches and hymns that connect it quite definitely with the liturgy. Cloëtta says: "*Le Mystère de l'Époux, on le sait, fait partie du cycle de Noël*." Reuschel writes: "*Die Entwicklungsstufe des Zehn Jungfrauenmysteriums aus einer gottes-*

¹⁰ Cloëtta, in *Romania*, 22.177. Du Meril, *Origines* . . . , 233.

¹¹ *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*, 2.

¹² *Le drama chrétien*, 113.

dienstlichen, lateinischen Feier lässt sich leicht bloszlegen." Sepet¹² comes to the same conclusion: "Arrivée de l'Époux, qui servait à célébrer d'un façon plus pompeuse la fête de Noël." And Du Meril remarks of the Gospel lesson: "Faisait partie de la liturgie ordinaire; on chantait a la messe commune pour plusieurs vierges l'antienne: Prudentes virgines, aptate vestras lampades, ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei."

Liturgical Source of Sponsus

The liturgical evidence within the play is even stronger than these men declared it to be. The Office Unius Virginis or Pro Virgine Tantum as well as that Commune Virginis et Martyris, in all of which the Gospel lesson is Matth. 25:1-13, was used more than forty times during the church year. In the Officium Unius Virginis the following responses occur:

Resp: Haec est virgo sapiens, quam Dominus vigilantem invenit, quae, acceptis lampadibus, sumpsit secum oleum, et veniente Domino introivit cum eo ad nuptias.

Vs: Medio autem nocte clamor factus: Ecce Sponsus venit, exite obviam ei

Resp: Veni, sponsa Christi, accipe coronam

Vs: Veni, electa mea, et ponam

Resp: Quinque prudentes virgines

Ant: Veniente Sponso, virgo prudens preparata, introivit cum eo ad nuptias.

Ant: Et quae paratae erant intraverunt cum eo ad nuptias.

Ant: Et clausa est janua.

Ant: Prudentes virgines, aptate vestras lampades, ecce Sponsus venit; exite obviam ei

If we consider now that this Officium, which was used so often during the year, was nevertheless usually written out but once, for its first occurrence, and therefore was to be found in full in the Breviaries of the service texts for the Advent season only, both the seeming irrelevancy of certain responses in the play and the aptness of the others for Advent and Christmas, will find their explanation.

The Sponsus play opens with the hymn: Adest Sponsus qui est Christus . . . , evidently a composition after the suggestion of the liturgy. The second stanza of this hymn begins:

Hic est Adam qui secundus per profetam dicitur

This line led Chambers to think that it linked the Sponsus with the Christmas play of Adam.¹³ Since, however, the Adam referred to by him is not budded off the Prophetæ, as he supposed, this link will not bear the stress of criticism. There is a better reason for the reference to the "secundus Adam" in the hymn, because the entire Advent season, and especially

¹³ *The Medieval Stage*, 2:62.

the 24th of December, was devoted to meditations on the relation between the first Adam and Him whose prototype he was, Christ.¹⁴ This point is emphasized also in the next stanza:

Per quem scelus primi Adae nobis diluitur.

The message of Gabriel in the play seems to have definite reference to Advent and Christmas themes:

Venit en terra pre los vostres pechet,
De la virgine en Bethleem fo net,
En flum Jorda lavet et bateiet

In the remaining part of the play the Gospel lesson is carried out in rhymes, to the end:

Christus. Amen dico, vos ignosco, nam caretis lumine
Modo accipiant eas daemones et praecipitentur in infernum.

German Ten Virgin Plays

The vernacular plays of the Ten Virgins were evidently composed with less regard to the liturgy than the Sponsus, but the relation of the subject to the plays of the end of the world is always observed, as in the Luzerne Antichrist Play (Reuschel), where Salvator, in the first part, preaches a sermon on the parable of the Ten Virgins, Matth. 25:1-13, in which there are also references to doomsday, as well as in other parts of the play. And the specifically liturgical element is never entirely wanting.

Separate texts of the Ten Virgin Play are the following:

1. Das Spiel von den Klugen und Törichten Jungfrauen, Eisenach 1322.¹⁵ Liturgical influence in this play is evident in the following passages:

Testimonium domini (fidele, sapientiam praestans parvulis) (Alt, 344).

Regnum mundi spreui

Resp: Emendemus in melius quae ignoranter . . . } Resp. in Quadr. *Migne*

Vs: Tribularer, si nescirem misericordias } *Patrologia Latina* 78:751.

Surgite vigilemus

Date nobis

Heu quantus est noster dolor From Easter Planctus.

Veni electa mea Resp. Unius Virg. *Migne Patrologia Latina* 78:829.

Transite ad me omnes Resp.

Sanctus Gloria et honor

Miserere, miserere populo tuo

Cecidit corona Deficit gaudium

2. Oberhessisches Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen, Handschrift Cantate 1428 abgeschlossen. Text from first part of fourteenth century.¹⁶ This

¹⁴ Cf. Alt, 310.

¹⁵ Published by Ludw. Bechstein, *Das grosse thüringische Mysterium oder das geistliche Spiel von den zehn Jungfrauen*.

¹⁶ Published by Max Rieger, *Germania*, 10:311. Cf. 11:135.

play has the same structure as the Sponsus and is probably based, either upon a Latin play like that one or directly upon the liturgy.

3. Jungfrauenszenen in den Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspielen, *Germania* 4.

4. Ein khurtz geistlich spill aus dem 25. Cap. Mathei getsogen von den zehen Junckfrawen, von Andreas Khintsch.¹⁷

5. Ein Tragedi Das ist ein Spile . . . und von den zehen Junckfrawen, von Doctor Alexander Seitz.¹⁸

6. Parabola Christi de decem virginibus, von Hieronymus Ziegler 1555.

7. Nymphocomus, von Christophorus Brockhag, Rostock 1595.

The last five plays seem to have been composed independently of the liturgy.

Fifteen Signs of Doom

The most exhaustive investigation of the subject of the Fifteen Signs of Doom has been made by Nölle.¹⁹ He discusses altogether fifty-one texts in Greek, Latin, French, Provençal, Spanish, Italian, High German, English, Friesian, and Low Dutch. The later texts are based principally upon Augustine, Comestor, Bede, Acquin, and upon a version ascribed to Jerome. The difference between the three versions of Jerome, Augustine, and Comestor may be seen from the following table:

<i>Jerome</i>	<i>Augustine</i>	<i>Comestor</i>
1. Rising of sea	1. Bloody dew of earth	1. Rising of sea, 40 cubits
2. Receding of sea until absorbed	2. Earthquakes	2. Receding of sea
3. Fish and marine animals on dry land	3. Burning of earth and water	3. Marine animals on land
4. Sea burning	4. Opening of gates of Hades	4. Sea and waters burn
5. Blood on whole earth	5. Godless burned with fire	5. Herbs and trees have bloody sweat
6. Destruction of houses, cities, &c.	6. General sorrow and fear	6. Destruction of buildings.
7. Stones and rocks strike together	7. Signs in stars and sun	7. Stones strike together
8. Very bad earthquakes, no animal can stand	8. Signs in heaven, darkening of moon	8. General conflagration

¹⁷ Published by Bolte, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 32:10.

¹⁸ Published by Bolte, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 26:71.

¹⁹ *Paul und Braunes Beiträge*, 6:413.

<i>Jerome</i>	<i>Augustine</i>	<i>Comesthr</i>
9. Men leave caverns to seek the open	9. Lowering of hills, filling up of valleys, falling of buildings	9. Earthquakes
10. Dead arise	10. Mixing of land and water	10. People leave caves
11. Rending of sky, burning of air	11. Destruction of earth	11. Dead arise
12. Those still alive die	12. Rivers and waters afire	12. Stars fall
13. Purging of earth by fire	13. Sounding of trumpet	13. Those still alive die
14. New heaven and new earth	14. Earth a chaos	14. Heaven and earth burn
15. Christ coming to judgment	15. Falling of fire and brimstone	15. New heaven and new earth, resurrection

These three versions as well as that of Bede were used and quoted quite indiscriminately. They are all based upon the apocryphal Fourth Book of Esra, chapters 5 and 6. The acrostic of Augustine often appears independently of the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon, "Contra Judaeos." The fifteen signs of doom were sometimes connected with the Antichrist play, as in the Chester cycle. The structure of the Ezechiel play, in this case, agrees with the first part of the Luzerne Antichrist Play of 1549, and the two have probably had the same or a similar source. While it is true that the fifteen signs of doom in the Chester Ezechiel agree with the text of Petrus Comestor, it is very probable that the suggestion for the addition was taken from the liturgy and that this part came into the cycle together with the Antichrist play, which will be discussed presently.

Antichrist

The subject of the Antichrist was one which had received a great deal of attention in the Church since the earliest times. In a "Liber de Antichristo,"²⁰ originally ascribed to Augustine, but probably written by either Alcuin (d. 804) or Rabanus Maurus (d. 856), the entire life of Antichrist is briefly given. The "Libellus de Antichristo" of Adso²¹ seems to be based upon this treatise or upon a similar one, since it agrees, in many cases word for word, with that text. It includes the birth of Antichrist, the beginning of his career, his triumphant success in gaining even the kings for his cause, Gog and Magog, the coming of the prophets Elias and Enoch and their slaughter by Antichrist, his perishing in turn before

²⁰ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 40:1132.

²¹ Migne, 101:1291.

the splendor of Christ's coming, and the appearance of Christ for the final judgment of the world. Peter Damianus (d. 1072) even has a treatise, "De novissimis, de Antichristo, de quindecim signis praecedentibus."²²

The author of the Tegernsee "Ludus de Adventu et Interitu Antichristi" (misnamed by Pez, in his *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* "Ludus paschalis") therefore had plenty of material at hand for his church play. The play dates from the twelfth century and was a very elaborate production. It begins with Antichrist at the height of his power, shows the struggle between Synagoga and Ecclesia, the effort of Rex Babylonia to overthrow Ecclesia, the coming of Enoch and Elias, the destruction of Antichrist.²³

That the Antichrist was an Advent play is evident from a text printed by D'Ancona,²⁴ which has the heading: In dominica de Adventu incipiunt duo Reges qui veniunt cum Antexpo. The play has the same contents as other Antichrist plays: Antichrist deceiving the people, Enoch and Elias sent to preach the truth, their slaughter by Antichrist, the command to the angel Michael to kill Antichrist, "angelus occidens Antexpm cum spada ignis dicat . . . , Satan cum aliis Demonis conducit eum ad Infernum."

The Benediktbeuern Christmas Play (Ludus scenicus de nativitate Christi) also shows that the Antichrist belonged to the Christmas series in the wider sense, since it is in the nature of a fragmentary cycle containing the Prophetiae, Christmas, Epiphany, and Antichrist plays.

Other texts of Antichrist plays are the following:

1. Der Entkrist, in der Münchener Fastnachtspielhandschrift, fourteenth century.²⁵
2. Frankfurter Antichristspiel von 1468 und 1469.²⁶
3. The Antichrist incident in the poem, "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz auf das jungst gericht gecymt."²⁷
4. The Antichrist of the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.²⁸
5. Niederdeutsches Gedicht vom Antichrist.²⁹
6. Luzerner Antichrist vom Jahre 1549.³⁰ In the prologue of this play, Isaias, Ezechiel, Daniel, and Zacharias appear. A part of the ministry of Jesus is included. Then comes the usual order: Antichrist at the zenith of his power with Gog and Magog and Darius and his vassals, and finally, the fall of Antichrist, with its results.

²² Migne, 145:837.

²³ Cf. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 70-78; Migne, 213:949.

²⁴ *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, 141.

²⁵ Published by A. Keller, *Fastnachtsspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*.

²⁶ Published by Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, 2:536.

²⁷ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

²⁸ *Germania*, 4:338.

²⁹ *Von der Hagens Germania*, 10:139, 22.

³⁰ Published by Reuschel, *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*.

The Chester Antichrist is far more conservative than that of Luzerne. The prophecies of Ezechiel, the Psalm, Daniel, and Sophonia^v are given in Latin before their content is rendered into English. The power of Antichrist, the coming of Enoch and Elias, their slaughter by Antichrist, who is in turn put to death by Michael and taken to hell,—all these parts are included in the play.

Doomsday Plays

The Doomsday play was originally also an Advent play. In the text from D'Ancona, referred to above, the Judgment follows immediately after the Antichrist, and its structure and contents link it very closely to the liturgy for Advent:

Xps ad Giusti: Benedicte dal mio Pate,
Venite al resigno a possidere

Justi intrant in celo

Xps a Damnati: E voie, audate, Maledecte,
A quil fuoco sempiterno

Mary's intercession is in vain. Demons carry them ad Infernum.

The extant German plays are all very much expanded, but they still retain the nucleus of the liturgy. There are eleven principal texts of the Doomsday play analyzed by Reuschel:³¹

Donaueschingen Text, in der Fürstlich Fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek, fifteenth century.

Thottsches Manuskript, Kgl. Bibliothek zu Kopenhagen, fifteenth century.

Rheinauer Text, von Hans Trechsel 1467.

Wülkers Handschrift, end of fifteenth century.

Berliner Handschrift der Kgl. Bibliothek 1482.

Handschrift des Curer Stadtarchivs 1507.

Codex Monacensis 1510.

Auszüge in Tennglers Layenspiegel 1511.

Luzerner Handschrift der Bürgerbibliothek, *Herrigs Archiv*, 75:384.

Wallenstädter Text 1653(?).

Die Comedy vom Jüngsten Gericht, ein altes Volksschauspiel von Altenmarkt bei Radstadt.

The subject is also included in the poem "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt," and in the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.

In the English field, the Doomsday play is included in the four principal cycles. In the Chester Doomsday play the traditional story is still the nucleus of the plot, while the liturgical element seems to have been preserved in the following tags:

Ego sum alpha et o, primus et novissimus.
Qui non credit, jam judicatus est.

³¹ *Die deutschen Weltgerichtsspiele*, 94-96.

Filius hominis venturus est in gloria patris sui cum angelis suis et reddit unicuiquam secundum opus.

Sic erit in consummatione seculi, exhibunt angeli et separabunt malos de medio justorum et mittent omnes in caminum ignis ubi erit fletus et stridor dentium.

None of these passages agrees with the Vulgate, therefore the inference is that they were taken from the liturgy or from the text of a liturgical play.

In the Coventry Doomsday play, there is an awakening of the dead by the angel Michael (Surgite . . . Venite ad iudicium) followed by the judgment:

Venite benedicti Patris mei

The play is fragmentary.

The Towneley and York Judgment Day plays seem to be, in reality, the same play. There is some extraneous material at the beginning, but the play proper has the traditional structure:

Mi blissid childre on my right hande,
Yours dome þis day 3e thare not drede
3e cursid caytiffes of Kaymes kynne,
þat neuere me comforte in my care

The following conclusions are offered in regard to the Judgment plays: The liturgy of Advent and the special festivals included within the season of Advent contain full accounts and sufficient subject material of eschatological subjects to connect the plays with this part of the church year. Stage directions and liturgical tags strengthen the probability that these plays were originally composed for use during Advent, the Antichrist with Fifteen Signs on the first Sunday, Doomsday on the second. Even the cycle plays retain some evidence of liturgical influence. The Ten Virgin play remained unconnected, because the service was not included in the *Kalendarium et Temporale* of the Breviaries and was not confined to a single festival day.

THE PROPHET PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Laon Prophetæ

Mystere des Prophetes du Christ, Limoges.

Mystere de la Nativite du Christ, Munich, usually called the Benediktbeuern.

Festum Asinorum, Rouen, fourteenth century.

Passio de Frankfort.

Mystere de Daniel, Hilarius.

Daniel of Beauvais.

Biblische Geschichte von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz aufs jungst Gericht gereymt.

Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Maastricht.

Egerer Spiel.

Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.

Frankfurter Dirigierrolle von 1350.

Frankfurter Passionsspiel von 1493.

Weavers' Pageant of Coventry.

Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry.

Chester Cycle, V, VI, VIII.

York Cycle, XII, XIV, XV.

Towneley Mysteries, VII, XII.

Ludus Coventriae, VII.

Until a few years ago, Sepet's "Les prophetes du Crist, étude sur les origines du théâtre au moyen âge" was considered the last word on this part of the liturgical drama. Weber,³² Chambers,³³ Hemingway,³⁴ Creizenach,³⁵ and others accepted the arguments of Sepet "in toto" without question. His principal discovery was that the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon "Contra Judaeos" is the source of the Prophetæ plays. This, of course, goes unchallenged. But the theory which he advanced in regard to the connection of the whole series of the Old Testament plays with the Prophet play, which has been accepted and even elaborated by Chambers, Creizenach, and others, has been found inadequate by Professor Craig,³⁶ who substitutes another theory, which will be discussed under the Old Testament plays.

For the purpose of the present discussion, it will be sufficient to summarize the applications of Sepet's theory to some of the principal plays; but, on the other hand, it will be necessary to treat at greater length certain excrescences in the development of the Prophetæ, many of which have a distinct liturgical source.

³² *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst*, 41.

³³ *The Medieval Stage*, 2:52-59, 68.

³⁴ *English Nativity Plays*, 263 et passim.

³⁵ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* (1911), 61-64.

³⁶ *Modern Philology*, 10:473.

The principal Latin plays belonging to this group are the following: the *Laon Prophetæ*,³⁷ the *Limoges Prophetæ*,³⁸ the *Munich Prophetæ*,³⁹—this is usually considered as belonging to the transitional stage,—and the *Rouen Prophetæ*.⁴⁰ A comparison of these four texts with the original Pseudo-Augustinian sermon⁴¹ can best be shown in the form of a table.

The Sermon	The Liturgical Plays
<i>Isaiah:</i> Ecce virgo in utero concipiet.	<i>Israel:</i> (Limoges) Dux de Juda non tollitur.
<i>Jeremiah:</i> Hic est deus noster et non aestimabitur alius absque illo.	<i>Isaiah:</i> (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Est necesse virgam Jesse de radice provehi. (Munich) Ecce virgo concipiet.
<i>Daniel:</i> (juvenis aetate) Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum cessabit unctio vestra.	<i>Jeremiah:</i> (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Sic est hic est deus noster
<i>David:</i> Mons dei mons uber	<i>Daniel:</i> (juvenis: Laon; juvenilem vultum habens: Rouen; Limoges) Sanctus sanctorum veniet, et unctio deficiet; (Munich) O Judea misera, tua cadat unctio.
<i>Moses:</i> (legislator) Prophetam vobis suscitabit Deus	<i>David:</i> (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Unversus grex conversus adorabit Dominum
<i>Habakkuk:</i> Domine audivi auditum tuum et timui	<i>Moses:</i> (Laon) Prophetam accipietis tamquam me, hunc audietis; (Limoges) Dabit Deus vobis vatem, huic ut mihi aurem date; (Rouen) Vir post me venit exortus
<i>Symeon:</i> Nunc dimittis domine	<i>Habakkuk:</i> (Laon) Opus tuum interdum latus animalium ; (Limoges, Rouen) Expectavi, mox expavi Metu mirabilium, Opus tuum interdum Corpus animalium
<i>Zacharias:</i> (pater Johannis) Tu puer propheta Altissimi vocaveris	<i>Simeon:</i> (Laon) Tuum sub pacis tegmine, Servum dimittis domine . . ; (Limoges, Rouen) Nunc me dimittas, domine
	<i>Zacharias:</i> (Rouen) Per viscera dulciflue Dei misericordie

³⁷ U. Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'Eglise Cathedrale de Laon* (1897); *Bibliotèque liturgique*, 6:385.
³⁸ *Mystere des Prophetes du Christ*, XI siecle. Du Meril, 179.
³⁹ *Mystere de la Nativite du Christ: Ludus scenicus de nativitate Christi*. Munich, thirteenth century. Schmeller, *Carmina burana*, 80; Du Meril, 187.
⁴⁰ *Festum Asinorum*, fourteenth century. Gaste, *Les drames liturgiques de la Cathedrale de Rouen*.
⁴¹ *Sarum Breviary: Lectio III Adventus*; Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 42:1117-1130. Cf. 78:1031: In vigilia natalis Domini ad Matutinum Quarta lectio sermo sancti Augustini, Vos inquam convenio, o Judaei. In quarta cantantur sibyllini versus: Judicii signum: tellus sudore

<i>The Sermon</i>	<i>The Liturgical Plays</i>
<i>Elizabeth:</i> Unde mihi hic ut veniet mater	<i>Elizabeth:</i> (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Quid est rei quod me mei Mater regis visitat
<i>Johannes:</i> (precursor) Ecce venit post me Ecce agnus dei	<i>Johannes:</i> (baptista) (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Venit talis Salutaris, Cuius non sum etiam Tam benignus
<i>Virgilius:</i> Iam nova progenies caelo dimittitur alto	<i>Maro-Virgilius:</i> (Laon, Limoges, Rouen) Ecce polo dimissa Sola nova progenies est. (Munich) Nova progenies matris (mixed with Sibylla!)
<i>Nebuchadnezzar:</i> Ecce ego video quatuor viros salutos deambulantes.	<i>Nebuchadnezzar:</i> (Laon, Rouen) Tres in igne positi pueri ; (Limoges) Cum revisi tres quos misi
<i>Sibylla:</i> Iudicii signum: tellus	<i>Sibylla:</i> (Laon, Limoges, Rouen, Munich) Iudicii signum

The similarity is so striking that even minor dissimilarities seem to require an explanation. The fact that Moses does not retain his position in the Limoges and Rouen plays may be explained either by the nature of his prophecy or, better yet, on account of the attempt to obtain a correct chronological sequence. Of the Balaam addition, which occurs in the Laon (Exibit de Jacob rutilans nova stella . . .), in the Munich (Orietur stella ex Jacob . . .), and in the Rouen plays (Exibit ex Jacob rutilans . . .), Professor Craig says:⁴³ "This prophecy made its appearance in the liturgical drama apparently first in the Stella. It occurs as a responsorium in the Sarum Breviary in the service of Feria IV. Quatuor Temporum to a lectio drawn from a sermon of the Venerable Bede . . . From the Stella it was probably borrowed into the Prophetæ; for it occurs in a large number of Magi plays." But it would hardly seem necessary to assume this roundabout way. In the first place, a sequence based upon the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon was in general use as early as the first part of the eleventh century or even before,⁴⁴ and the Laon Prophetæ with the Balaam incident dates from the same century, while the first Stella text, that of Nevres, is dated 1060.⁴⁵ Therefore the Balaam incident was probably in the Prophetæ before the first Stella was in general use. And in the second place, among the many Old Testament prophecies which were used as responses during Advent, that of Balaam

⁴³ *The Origin of the Old Testament Plays*, 475, note 8.

⁴⁴ Guéranger, *The Liturgical Year*, 1:246.

⁴⁵ Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, 40, 146.

occupies a very prominent place. It is listed among the responses for the entire week of the Fourth Sunday in Advent:

Resp: Orietur stella ex Jacob, et exurget homo de Israel; et confringet omnes duces⁴⁶

The same reason which caused the authors of the Laon, Limoges, and Rouen plays to substitute, in the case of Isaiah, for the prophecy of the sermon the very well known "radix Jesse" prophecy from the liturgy, also prompted the Laon author to add the Stella prophecy. This is all the more probable, since the liturgy suggests all the Old Testament prophecies concerning the virgin birth, and there is an antiphon, *Feria quarta in Dominica quarta, in matutinis Laudibus*:

*Prophetæ prædicaverunt nasci Salvatorem de virgine Maria.*⁴⁶

The same reason prompted the author of the Limoges play to include Israel (Jacob) in the list of prophets with the prophecy: *Dux de Juda non tollitur . . .* The antiphon is among the responses of the Fourth Sunday in Advent:

*Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore ejus, donec veniet qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.*⁴⁷

In regard to the Simeon incident in the Laon play, with its bit of action, see Professor Craig's note.⁴⁸ In the Rouen play, the original *Processus Prophetarum* is much expanded and the original idea subordinated to the Balaam incident, as the superscription "*Festum Asinorum*" indicates. We have here, besides the original prophets tabulated above, the following in addition:

Amos: Ecce dies venient
Aaron: Virga Jesse florida
Samuel: In Israel faciet rex verbum
Osee: Deus nunciavit de filio David
Joel: Effundam de spiritu meo
Abdias: Et in monte Syon salvatio erit
Jonas: O Judei huius rei signum genus fatuum
Micah: Descendet Dominus, cui non est terminus
Nahum: Super montem evangelizantis
Sophonia: In medio tui, Syon, rex regnabit
Zacharias: En rex tuus venit Justus
Ezechiel: Per clausam januam rex intrabit
Malachias: Scimus hoc dicentem Deum

In this play, the Nebuchadnezzar prophecy is expanded into a little scene of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace. It has been thought that this

⁴⁶ *Sancti Gregorii Magni Liber Responsalis*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78:731.

⁴⁶ Column 732.

⁴⁷ Column 730.

⁴⁸ Page 475, note 4.

incident was sporadic and that the little by-play stood alone, at least in the West. A very probable explanation for its presence in this connection may, however, be found in the fact that there was a small scene of the "Three Children in the Furnace" in the Greek liturgy for Daniel day, the 17th of December. In the Occident, the Saturday of the third week in Advent was devoted to the reading of Dan. 3:26 ff., in connection with which dramatic representations were by no means exceptional.⁴⁰ So this scene may either have been suggested by the known existence of such a play, or Occidental liturgies may, in isolated cases, have made use of this material.

On the whole, it appears from all these additions, either that the author of the Rouen *Prophetæ*, with some attempt at original composition, made deliberate additions of such great extent, or that the two centuries had witnessed gradual emendations of the original *Prophetæ* play, making it the elaborate composition we have before us.

In the Munich or *Benediktbeuern* play, most of the original prophecies are omitted, though Aaron has been added. This addition is, of course, very easily explained, since Moses and Aaron were usually named together.

Plays of Transition

In the transition stage, we have the *Passio de Frankfort*,⁴⁰ which is a much corrupted *Prophetæ* with parts of the life of Christ interspersed in it. In this case, the relation of the play to the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon is shown by the following characters: Augustine, David, Solomon, Daniel, Zacharias, Osee, Jeremiah, Isaiah. In the *Mystere de Daniel*, of Hilarius, the influence of the same source is still seen in the verses:

Nascetur Dominus cuius imperio cessabit regimen et regum unctio⁴¹

In the *Beauvais Daniel*, the influence is seen as well in the hymn "Congaudentes celebremus," whose similarity to the opening hymn of the *Limoges* play is most marked, as in the "Danielis jam cessavit unctionis copia" and "Ecce venit sanctus ille sanctorum sanctissimus." Both the last named plays are Christmas plays, as is shown by the close: "Nuntium vobis fero de supernis, natus est Christus"⁴²

German Prophet Plays

In the German cyclical poem based on the liturgy, "*Biblische*

⁴⁰ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 204, 307, 327.

⁴¹ Du Meril, 297.

⁴² Du Meril, 241.

⁴³ Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*.

Geschichte von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz aufs jungst Gericht gereymt,"⁵³ the following Prophets are included: Abraham, Moses, Balaam, Iop, David, Salomon, Abagug, Aggeus, Macheus, Zacharias, Jonas, Osee, Malachias, Sibylla, Nebucadnezzar, Virgilius, Isayas, Jeremias, Daniel, Ezechiel, Zacharias. The presence of Virgil, the Sibyl, and Balaam would constitute sufficient evidence to prove the liturgical connection.

In the Maastricht Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel,⁵⁴ the Prophetæ finds its place after the fall and the first promise of the Savior: Balaam (the Stella prophecy), Ysaïas (Ecce virgo concipiet . . .), and Virgilis (Ho van hiemilriche sal kamen wonderliche eine nuwe gebort . . .). The prophecies are followed by the Annunciation.

In the Egerer Spiel⁵⁵ the connection is not quite so apparent. There are only four prophets mentioned: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakuk, Ezechiel. But there is a special David and Goliath scene, as well as a Solomon incident. The evidence for direct liturgical influence here, in comparison with other plays, does not seem very strong, but we can hardly conceive of an exception in this one instance.

In the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel aus dem Jahre 1479,⁵⁶ we have a similar instance. The David and Goliath and the Solomon incidents are followed by the Prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel. In this case, however, both Moses and Aaron receive separate treatment, while in the preceding case Moses, with the "filii Israel," the Exodus, and the Giving of the Law, was included.

In the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle of about 1350⁵⁷ the connection is again perfectly obvious, since the following characters appear in the list of the Prophets: Augustinus, David Rex (Percussus sum . . .), Salomon, Daniel (Post septuaginta hebdomata . . .), Zacharias propheta (Exulta satis, filia . . .), Osee propheta (Post duos dies dominus . . .), Ieremias propheta, Ysaïas propheta (Domine, quis crediderit . . .). The substituting of Is. 53 for Is. 7:14 and 9:1 seems to be characteristic of the German plays.

In the Frankfurter Passionsspiel of 1493⁵⁸ the list of prophets is not quite so long. Augustine is in evidence and the Prophetæ include David (Die konige von den landen zusamen han gestanden), Solomon, Daniel, Zacharias propheta (Syon dochter lobelich . . .), Iheremias, Ysaïas.

⁵³ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

⁵⁴ Julius Zacher, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:302.

⁵⁵ Karl Bartsch, Über ein geistliches Schauspiel des XV Jahrhunderts, *Germania*, 3:267.

⁵⁶ H. Werner, *Germania*, 4:338.

⁵⁷ Froning, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*, 336.

⁵⁸ Froning, 1.

English Prophet Plays

In the English field also, we have plays that show connection with the liturgy. In the Weavers' Pageant of Coventry, the Presentation of Christ,⁵⁹ the following "Profetae" are mentioned: Balaam (Orietur stella ex Jacob), Isae (Ecce virgo concipiet . . .), Malache (The sun of Lyffschall spring and arise), Jareme (In heyvin God schulde make seede, A greyne off Davith thatt now ys cum). In the Presentation scene proper, "Semeon and Anne" have a conversation concerning "anceant profettis," in the course of which are mentioned Isae (In facie populorum, this did he say, Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra), Sebellam, Balaam, and Malache. The corruption is apparent, but no less than the liturgical connection.

In the Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry (Craig, *Early English Text Society*, vol. 87, *Extra Series*, Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays) there is but a remnant of the liturgy. Isaye is introduced as saying: That no creature ys abull vs forto reyles, Tyll thye right uncion of Jvda dothe seyse Ecce virgo consepet

In the Chester Plays, the evidence of the influence of the Prophetae is found in three plays. In the play of Balaam and his Ass there is the most expanded form of the Balaam incident in the liturgical plays. The prophecy occupies the prominent place which we should expect from its source, the star of Jacob being emphasized throughout. The play as it here appears is, of course, a separate outgrowth of the Prophetae, the single incident of Balaam being expanded into a full play. It should not be confounded with the Beauvais Epiphany Play, in which the ass was a figure of still greater importance than here.⁶⁰ The other prophets which appear in the Chester Processus are principally the conventional ones: Esayes (I saye a mayden meeke and mylde, Shall conceive and bear a childe), Exechiell (Vidi portam in domo Domini clausam et dixit angelus ad me: Porta . . .), Jheremias (Deducant oculi mei lacrimas . . .), Ionas (Clamavi de tribulacione mea . . .), David (De summo caelo egressio eius . . .), Ioell (Effundam de spiritu meo . . .), Micheas (Tu Bethlehem terra Juda . . .). In the Salutation and Nativity Play there is a Sybbell (A barne shalbe borne blesse to bringe, The which that never hade beginninge, Ner never shall endinge have). In the next lines the "Jam nova progenies" of Virgil is contained (That God will bringe mankind to blesse, And sende from heaven, leve well this, His son our savvyour). In the Play of the Three Kings we find the prophecy of Jacob (Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda . . .), of Danyell (Cum

⁵⁹ Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, *Early English Text Society*, 87 *Extra Series*; *Höthausen Anglo*, 25.

⁶⁰ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 326

venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra), of Micah concerning Bethlehem, and of Isaiah (Ambulabant gentes in lumine tuo).

In the York Plays the influence of the liturgy is even more definite. In the Play of the Annunciation and Visit to Elizabeth there is a long list of prophecies, most of which will be found to agree with the Pseudo-Augustinian list in its more expanded form. The following prophecies appear: Amos (Deus pater disposuit salutem fieri in medio terre . . .), Gen. 22:18 (Quoniam in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes), Gen. 27:28 (Orate celi desuper), Is. 7:14 (Ecce, virgo concipiet . . .), Is. 9:7 (Zelus domini faciet hoc), Is. 9:1 (Egredietur virga de Jesse), Joel, Hosea 14:6 (Ero quasi ros et virgo Israel germinabit . . .), Gen. 49:10 (Jacob: Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda . . .), John Baptist (Ego quidem baptizo in aqua . . .), Mark 1:2 (Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam . . .). Most of these prophecies are ascribed to the original Pseudo-Augustinian characters. The "Orate celi desuper" is undoubtedly a contamination of the common response for the time of Advent: Rorate celi desuper In the Play of the Journey to Bethlehem the prophecy of Balaam (told full longe beforen How pat a sterne shulde rise full hye) and of Habakuk (between bestis lye) are used. In the Play of the Angels and the Shepherds, the prophecies of Hosea, Isaiah, and Balaam are mentioned.

In the Towneley Mysteries, there is a fragmentary Processus Prophetarum which shows the direct influence of the liturgy. The following characters appear: Moyses (Prophetam excitabit deus de fratribus vestris), David (Omnes reges adorabunt eum, omnes gentes seruent ei), Sibilla (Judicii signum: tellus sudore madescit), and Daniel (Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum, cessabit unctio vestra). In the Pagina Pastorum the list is a little longer: Isay (Exiet virga de radice iesse), Sybyll, Nebugod-honossor (the fourt stode before godys son like to bene), Jeremy, Moyses, Abacuc, Ely, Elizabeth and zachare, David, John Baptysta, Daniel, Virgill (Iam nova progenies celo dimittitur alto . . .).

Radix Jesse Play

The Ludus Coventriae offers a peculiar exception from the direct Prophetæ influence in the Jesse or Radix Jesse Play, since this is no doubt a Prophetæ recast, or a Play of the Genealogy of Mary modeled after the Prophetæ. The Radix Jesse motive was used in composing the play and the old Prophetæ expanded with material from genealogical passage lectiones in a unique manner. As for the Prophetæ source, we have Ysaïas (Virgo concipiet Egredietur virga de radice Jesse), who introduces a line of thirteen prophets. These are made to alternate in the speeches with thirteen kings of the root of Jesse, beginning with David.

The prophets in their alternate order are: Jeremias, Ezechiel (Of a gate that sperred was truly), Micheas, Danyel (In figure of this I saw a tre), Jonas (I, Jonas, sey that on the iiide morn), Abdias (Dethe xal be drewyn to endless dampnacion), Abaruche (he shall up styte In hevyn as juge sit in his se), Joelle (He wolde sende downe his sprytt i-wys, On yonge and olde full sekyrlye), Aggeus (ffrom the wulf to save al shepe of his floke), Ozyas, Sophosas, and Baruk. A comparison of the prophecies of these prophets with those given above in the Latin and transitional periods will show that the traditional subjects were mentioned in the prophetic passages. The list of prophets is indeed a long one, but outside of this fact there is nothing extraordinarily strange about it, since all these prophets, with the exception of Aggeus and Baruk, have appeared in Latin liturgical plays. And even the Aggeus is not an isolated instance, since it occurs at least in the liturgical poem "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt," mentioned above. As for the thirteen kings, the deliberate choice of these very ones is not surprising. The *Evangelium in die nativitatis Domini*, in *tertio nocturno*, was Matth. 1:16, with the verses 6-10b giving the exact list of the royal descendants in the family of David.⁴¹ David, Solomon, Roboas, Abias, Asa, Josaphat, Joras, Ozias, Joathas, Achas, Ezechias, Manasses, Amon. The explanation for this addition is the following. Throughout the Advent season the *Radix Jesse* idea is found, the *Egre-dietur virga de radice Jesse* occurring as response, as versicle, as antiphon, as capitulum, and as lectio in the liturgy. In addition to that, we have responses like the following:

Ecce venit Deus et Homo de domo David: sedere in throno. All.
 Ecce radix Jesse ascendet in salutem populorum
 Radix Jesse qui exurget judicare gentes
 O radix Jesse, qui stas in signum populorum

A very common response was that known as the *Stirps Jesse*:

Stirps Jesse virgam produxit, virgaque florem
 Virgo Dei Genetrix est, flos filius ejus

This response is the one most frequently used in the liturgy of the Mary festivals, especially in the office *Conceptionis B. M. V.* (Dec. 8), *In Nativitate B. M. V.* (Sept. 8), and *Sanctae Annae, Matris Mariae* (July 26).⁴² Here we also find the following antiphons:

Haec radix Jesse germinat expers cunctis illecebris:
 germen ejus illuminat nos sedentes in tenebris.
 Stirps Jesse clara diluit Evae matris opprobrium:
 dum Anna prolem genuit florem sanctorum omnium.

The following passage from a lectio is especially significant: "De regali

⁴¹ *Sarum Breviary, Kalendarium et Temporale*, Hereford Breviary.

⁴² *Sarum Breviary, Sanctorale*, 41 ff, 569, 539.

nempe tribu, simul et sacerdotali duxit (Maria) originem: quae summum Regem atque Pontificem erat paritura.”⁶³ The lectiones of the Mary festivals continually refer to the Radix, to the genealogical table and its meaning. The lectiones Per Octavas Nativitatis Beatae Mariae contain a complete exposition of the genealogical table Matthew 1:1-16. There can be no doubt that the author of the Ludus Coventriae was familiar with this material, since he, in several cases, makes use of the very explanation of the lectiones, as may be seen from the following table:

<i>Ludus Coventriae</i>	<i>Liturgy</i>
<i>David:</i> With regalle power to make man fre.	<i>David:</i> Dominus, inquit, fortis: Domi- nus potens in praelio. Cuius gesta quomodo Dominica facta signifi- cent
<i>Solomon:</i> that wurthy temple for sothe made I Whiche that is fygure of that mayde zyngre, That xal be mother of great Messy.	<i>Solomon:</i> Quod templum Domino cum omni studio et diligentia aedificavit, figuram Salvatoris nostri et ecclesiae teneant
<i>Joras:</i> Aftyr his resurreccion return xal to hefne, Bothe God and verry man ther endles to be.	<i>Joras:</i> Nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo: Filius homi- nis qui est in caelo.

The evident agreement here is all the more significant, since the material was so abundant and diversified.

We need not, however, assume that the composition of this play was original with the author of the Ludus Coventriae. It is possible that there was a Play of the Genealogy of Mary, aside from this one instance. The “Skynners” pageant at Hereford was a Jesse play, possibly a Radix play, since it follows Abram, Isack, Moysey cum iiij pueris and precedes Salutaçon of our Lady.⁶⁴

There is an interesting article in connection with this question by Mr. John K. Bonnell,⁶⁵ in which the author contends that the passage of St. Matthew referred to above, together with Isaiah’s prophecy of the branch out of the root of Jesse, furnished the basis for the iconographic Tree of the Radix Jesse (page 336), and that the play was simply an attempt to dramatize this iconographic Tree of Jesse (page 340). If

⁶³ *Sanctorale*, 775.
⁶⁴ Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2: Appendix W, sub Hereford.
⁶⁵ The Source in Art of the So-Called Prophets Play in the Hegge Collection, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 29:327.

there were no other prophet plays, if the influence of the *Prophetæ* had not been so generally felt, if the prophets of the Coventry play and their prophecies were altogether new and different from the other prophet plays, and, above all, if there were not so much evidence for direct liturgical basis also in this case, then one should not hesitate so much to accept Mr. Bonnell's conclusions. The fact that only four of the Pseudo-Augustinian prophets appear in the Coventry play is an argument which carries little weight, because, as stated above, there are only two prophets in the Coventry list that have not appeared in a Latin liturgical play. And since the tendency of addition, expansion, and borrowing had been evident for several centuries, this small difference does not have much force alone. It seems perfectly safe to believe, with the example of the Rouen *Prophetæ* before us, that some liturgical plays may have been expanded to include the full quota of kings and prophets of the present Coventry play, by making use of the familiar genealogical table of Mary and the explanations of it which had a general circulation in the Breviaries. So far as pictorial representations of the *Radix Jesse* are concerned, these were made to accompany the liturgy; they grew out of the liturgy, in fact, as we learn from the Sarum Breviary.⁶⁶ The footnotes in the passage indicated read as follows: "*Radix Jesse picturam habet Legend. 1518, in principio tertii nocturni de S. Anna. Talem habet et ad Nativitatem B. V. Mariæ (VIII. Sept.) Frondes arboris ex utraque sunt reges 'David, Salomon, Roboam, Abia, Asa, Josaphat, Joram, Ozias, Joatham, Acham, Ezechias, Manasses' et in summitate B. Maria quasi rosa Saron et flos Filius ejus.—Radix Jesse pictura hic quoque in Legend. A. D. 1518 prolata est inter hunc versiculum hinc inde scriptum, scilicet 'Egredietur virga de radice Jesse: et flos de radice eius ascendet' . . . Consimilem effigiem, sed mensura paullo maioris et sine regum nominibus, exhibet Chavallonii Breviarium in primo nocturno huius festi.*" These notes are always in explanation of the *Radix* or *Stirps Jesse* antiphon. There can be no doubt then that the *Radix Jesse* idea is liturgical. The Coventry author got his suggestion from the Matthew passage lectiones, with which the *Radix Jesse* was combined throughout the church year.

There does not seem to be sufficient reason for disclaiming Weber's statement in regard to the relation between liturgy and art; namely, that the former is always the basis of the latter.⁶⁷ From the chart offered by Mr. Bonnell on page 331 it would rather seem evident that art shows a development in iconographic representation of the *Prophetæ* and *Radix Jesse* subject chronologically at the same pace with the liturgical plays. As noted above, it would not seem at all impossible that there was a play of the *Radix Jesse* or the Genealogy of Mary and that the Coventry play

⁶⁶ *Sanctorale*, 539, 540, et passim.

⁶⁷ Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst*. Cf. Bonnell, 340.

may represent a fusion of this play and the *Prophetæ*, thirteen prophets from available sources being introduced to match the thirteen kings in the Matthew passage. Thus there seems to be no need for giving to Coventry a unique and isolated position.

The conclusions for the discussion of the Prophet plays are the following: The *Prophetæ* is based upon the liturgy (*Lectio Dominicae III et IV Adventus*). In its early development it was expanded by prophecies taken from the Advent portions of the liturgy. In the later development greater liberty was exercised in the use of material and in additions, but the liturgical influence is still either predominant, or at least apparent. The Nebuchadnezzar play (*Three Men in Fiery Furnace*) was very likely not sporadic, but was introduced under the influence of Greek liturgy. The David and Goliath and the Solomon plays were local excrescences, while only the Balaam play shows a permanent development. The Daniel play (Beauvais, Hilarius) is an outgrowth of the *Prophetæ*. The *Radix Jesse* or Jesse play was a play of the genealogy of Mary, which was in the case of the Coventry Prophet Play fused with a *Prophetæ*.

THE ANNUNCIATION AND VISITATION PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Cividale Annunciation Play, Coussemaker.
Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini.
Zerbster Prozession.
Von der Beschaffung diser Welt
Mastricht Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel.
Egerer Spiel.
Künzelsauer Frohleichnamsspiel.
Pageant of Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry.
Chester Plays, VI.
York Plays, XII.
Townsley Mysteries, X, XI.
Ludus Coventriae, XI, XIII.

A mass of material without special distinctive marks or tags has almost as many disadvantages as a dearth of records. This situation makes the discussion of the Annunciation and Visitation Plays a rather difficult undertaking and one in which only careful sifting will make conclusions possible. One of the chief difficulties is this, that we can hardly speak of a separate and distinctive liturgy for the Festum Annuntiationis Mariae. It is not included in the Liber Responsalis of Gregory the Great, since its general introduction in the West does not seem to have taken place until the end of the seventh century.⁸⁰ And even after the festival had received an office, which appears to be based largely on parts of the services for Advent, the time of the year (March 25) did not permit great celebrations or even an elaborate office. The Council of Toledo declared, in regard to this: "Haec festivitas non potest celebrari condigne, cum interdum Quadragesimae dies vel Paschale festum videtur incumbere, in quibus nihil de sanctorum solemnitatibus, sicut ex antiquitate regulari cautum est, convenit celebrari : ideo speciali constitutione sancitur, ut ante octavum diem, quo natus est Dominus, genetricis quoque ejus dies habeatur celeberrimus et praeclarus."⁸¹

The liturgy of the Sarum and other Breviaries contains the story complete, the principal responses being:

A: Spiritus sanctus in te descendet, Maria, ne timeas
Ecce virgo concipiet
Egredietur virga

⁸⁰ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 51.

⁸¹ Alt, 51, 52, note.

and the Offertorium being:

Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum⁷⁰

The Hereford Breviary makes provision for the so-called Horae Mariae, Memoria de S. Maria during Advent. The story of the Annunciation was included in the liturgy at Lauds:

Missus est gabriel ad mariam virginem desponsatam joseph.

Egredietur virga

Et flos

and that of the Salutation at Vespers:

Ave Maria, gratia plena⁷¹

The Sarum Breviary includes in several places the responses carrying the story, and in addition has extensive lectiones which give a complete exposition of the events. The entire story of the Annunciation is contained in three lectiones taken from Beda super Lucam Libro I, capite 3, beginning: Missus est gabriel angelus a Deo in civitatem , and in another set of three lectiones taken from the Homiliae Hyemales de Sanctis venerabilis Bedae presbiteri, beginning: Exordium nostrae redemptionis And the story of the Visitation and Salutation is found in three lectiones taken from Homiliae aestivales de Sanctis 'In solennitate Deiparac V. Mariae, quando salutavit Elizabeth' venerabilis Bedae presbiteri, beginning: Lectio quam audivimus sancti evangelii et redemptionis nostrae⁷²

Cividale Play

The Cividale Annunciation Play, Fifteenth century (Coussemaker, No. 19), with the heading "In annuntiatione B. M. Virginis representatio" and containing a brief dialogue of the Annunciation and Visitation, is apparently the only extant Latin text based on the liturgy for the festival. The liturgical form is used in the address of the angel:

(a) *Angelus*: Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum

(b) Ne timeas, Maria; invenisti

(c) *Maria*: Quomodo fiet istud, quia virum

(d) *Angelus*: Audi Maria, virgo Christi

(e) *Maria*: Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat

(f) *Helisabeth*: Salve chara, Deo grata, Te saluto, sis beata

(g) *Maria*: Magnificat anima mea

Creizenach⁷³ discusses the play, and shows that it was a favorite sub-

⁷⁰ Alt, 364.

⁷¹ Hereford Breviary, Feria secunda I Adventus Domini, 111, 113.

⁷² Pages lxxii, cxv, cxlii.

⁷³ Geschichte des neueren Dramas, 70, 106.

ject, especially in Italy, at the end of the thirteenth century. There is no evidence that this play found the same favor in England and Germany. And it is very likely that there would be some indication of a later addition outside of the chronological order of incidents, if the play had reached the cycles as a well-developed unit.⁷⁴

However, there is no need for theorizing, since the probable solution is so evident.⁷⁵ The Annunciation and Visitation theme exerted its greatest influence upon the liturgy of Advent. Gueranger refers to an Annunciation prose in honor of the Virgin, for the Second Sunday in Advent,⁷⁶ and to a Visitation prose from a Roman-French Missal for the Fourth Week in Advent.⁷⁷ Gautier prints a trope for Christmas:⁷⁸ "Beata es, Virgo, et gloriosa inter omnes mulieres et benedicta. Gabriel, haec dicens, attulit affata: Paries filium, virgo intacta; Jesus erit nomen eius cuncta per saecula. Perfecta sunt in te jamque sunt peracta. Hodie ex te Christus natus est in terra....." In the Liber Responsalis of Gregory the Great, upon which the Sarum, the York, and most of the other Breviaries of the Middle Ages are based,⁷⁹ we have single responses treating of the Annunciation and Visitation in the ferial services of the Second Advent:

Ant: Beata es, Maria, quae credidisti; perficientur in te quae dicta sunt tibi a Domine

and of the Third Advent:

Vs: Ave Maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum

Ant: Audis, Maria virgo, Spiritus Sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi

In the week of the Fourth Advent the entire story is carried by the responses:

Ant: Ecce concipies in utero et paries filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Jesum. Hic erit magnus, et Filius Altissimi vocabitur.

In evangelio.

Ant: Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum

Ant: Ex quo facta est vox salutationis tuae in auribus meis, exsultavit in gaudio infans in utero meo

Resp: Annuntiatum est per Gabriel archangelum ad Mariam virginem

Ant: Ave Maria

Ant: Vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod interpretatur nobiscum Dominus

Ant: Ecce ancilla Domini, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum.

Ant: Missus est Gabriel angelus ad Mariam virginem desponsatam Joseph . . .

⁷⁴ Cf. below, The Purification Play.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Lehre und Wehre* (1912), 58-529.

⁷⁶ *The Liturgical Year*, I 204.

⁷⁷ Gueranger, I-238.

⁷⁸ *Les Tropes*, 167, note.

⁷⁹ Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78.

Add to this wealth of suggestive material the fact, stated above, that the lectiones of Advent contained the complete stories, and it must be admitted that there was certainly sufficient outline and suggestion in the liturgy of that season for both the Annunciation and the Visitation Plays. The composers of cycle plays therefore did not have to hunt far afield for a link between the Prophetæ and the Christmas Play proper. They used the outline and the subject material offered them here and in the majority of cases inserted the two plays in close connection in their chronological position. From the records of Lincoln Cathedral it appears that the liturgical play of the Annunciation was given at Christmas time and not on the feast day.³⁰ From this fact it does not follow, however, as Mr. Hemingway suggests, that the play at an early date became part of the group of Christmas plays, but that it was taken directly from the Christmas liturgy (including Advent), without any intermediary steps. That the liturgical outline, the plain story, was ornamented and the text elaborated from various sources is, of course, evident, but the liturgical basis is clearly enough apparent. Even the idea that the words of Elizabeth: *Unde mihi hic . . .* were taken from the prophecy of the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon as a liturgical tag is by no means beyond the pale of probability. The idea of such a connection has been evident in the Daniel play and has been mentioned in the case of the Simeon or Presentation play. If there is any connection, however, it must be restricted to the mere suggestion of the subject, the subject matter being derived from other parts of the liturgy.

German Plays

In the *Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini*³¹ there is both an Annunciation and a Visitation in their proper place. The "Ave Maria, gratia plena" of Angelus in the former, (a), and the "Unde hoc mihi" of Elizabeth in the latter certainly give them the liturgical flavor.

In the *Zerbster Prozession*³² there is a "Marie und Elizabet" pageant, after the Old Testament series and just before the "Gebort Christi."

In the poem "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz aufs jungst gericht gereymt"³³ the Salutation and Conception, and the Visitation, follow the Prophetæ and just precede the Birth.

In the *Mittelniederlandisches Osterspiel* of Maastricht³⁴ there is an

³⁰ Hemingway, *English Nativity Plays*, xii (after Canon Wordsworth).

³¹ Schmeller, *Carmina burana*, 80.

³² *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2.276.

³³ Masemann, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2.130.

³⁴ Julius Zacher, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2.302.

Annunciation which follows very closely the wording of the responses given above:

Gabriel: Ne timeas (b).
Maria: Quomodo fiet istud. . . . (c).
Gabriel: Audi Maria virgo (d).
Maria: Ecce ancilla Domini (e).
Gabriel: Joseph fili David

The agreement with the liturgy is so obvious that it causes some surprise not to find a Visitation included before the Birth.

In the Egerer Spiel⁶⁶ there is an Annunciation with Ave Maria, followed by a Visitation and Suspicion of Joseph, before the Nativity scene.

In the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel of 1479⁶⁷ there is an Annunciatio Mariae, closing with a Te deum, followed by a Visitatio. Then comes the Pastores Play.

English Plays

In the English field, the Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry⁶⁷ has a complete Annunciation:

Gaberell: Hayle, Mare, full of grace! (a).
Mare:
Gaberell: Dred the nothyng, meydin, of this (b).
Mare: Asse his one hande-mayde I submyt me (e).

There is no Visitation scene, although the theme is mentioned (page 4).

In the Chester Cycle, in the Play of the Salutation and Nativity (VI), liturgical influence is more apparent. There is an Annunciation, a Visitation, and a Suspicion of Joseph scene.

Gabriel: Heale by thou, Marye, mother free,
 Full of grace, God is with thee (a).

The part is a very close transcription of the liturgical Ave Maria.

Elisabeth: Marye, blessed moste thou be,
 And the frute that comes of thee
 Among wemen all (f).

Maria: Magnificat anima mea domine,
 Et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo (g).

The Visitation ends with a translation of the Gloria Patri. This Gloria Patri in connection with the Magnificat establishes the connection of this play with the liturgy, the model before the author having been either the liturgy itself or a liturgical play taken from the services.

In the York Annunciation, and Visit of Elizabeth to Mary (?) (XII)

⁶⁶ Karl Bartsch, *Germania*, 3:267.

⁶⁷ H. Werner, *Germania*, 4:338.

⁶⁸ Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, Early English Text Society, 87, Extra Series.

Cantat angelus: Hail Mary, full of grace and bliss,
 Oure Lord God is with thee (a).
 Ne timeas, Maria (b).

The scene ends with the Magnificat.

In the Towneley Mysteries there are two separate plays, the Annunciation (X) and the Salutacio Elizabeth (XI). The Ave Maria is the most prominent part in the first play:

Hayll, mary gracyouse,

 hayll, mary, and well thou be!
 My lord of heuen is with the,
 wythouten end;
 hayll, woman, most of mede, (a)
 Goodly lady, have thou no drede,
 That I commend (b).

In the Salutacio the simplicity of the liturgy is maintained:

Elizabeth: Blyssed be thou of all women,
 And the fruyte that I well ken,
 Within the wombe of the;
 And this tyme may I blys,
 That my lordys moder is,
 Comen thus unto me (f).

Maria: Magnificat anima mea Dominum (g).

In the Coventry Mysteries there is a Salutation and Conception (XI), Joseph's Return (XII), and the Visit to Elizabeth (XIII). The Salutation is opened by Contemplacio, calling:

Wolde God thou woldyst breke thin hefne myghtye,

which seems to be the Advent "Rorate coeli desuper." The scene is carried forward in the usual manner and there is a reference to liturgical influence:

Angeli cantando istam sequentiam:
 Ave Maria, gratia plena,
 Dominus tecum, virgo serena! (a).

In the Visit to Elizabeth the greeting follows the Latin of the liturgy closely. Mary answers with the Magnificat (g), and there is a Gloria Patri and a closing hymn "Ave regina coelorum." In the Coventry Incarnation the line, "Here this name Eva is turned Ave," is taken from the hymn, "Ave maris stella," of which the second stanza reads:

Sumens illud Ave
 Gabrielis ore,
 Funda nos in pace,
 Mutans Evae nomen.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Cf. Hemingway, 248.

In a French *Mystere de la Nativite* (Du Meril), the Annunciation precedes the Birth with the Ave Maria, gratia plena; Dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus (a), the common form of the liturgy.

In the absence of extant material for the intermediary period, the following conclusions are drawn from the discussion of the available texts: The liturgical influence is seen in the Annunciation and Visitation plays: (a) in the presence of the Ave Maria, which is liturgical, not Biblical, matter; (b) in spite of the fact that a great deal of extraneous subject-matter was introduced, the most prominent points of the plays bear the liturgical stamp and, in most cases, show liturgical tags. The Annunciation and Visitation plays of the cycles have their sources in the Advent part of the liturgy, taken at an early date as introductory themes to the Christmas plays proper; The Cividale play is probably a type of the local outgrowth in the Italian field, but is characteristic of the method by which the plays were obtained. The Annunciation and Visitation, on account of the simplicity of the subject, never grew into elaborate individual presentations.

THE PLAY OF THE SHEPHERDS

List of Texts Examined

Officium Pastorum secundum usum ecclesiae cathedralis Claromontensis.
Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensis (six texts, from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries).
Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini, Munich.
Shrewsbury Fragments
Mittelniederländisches Ostspiel of Maastricht.
Egerer Spiel.
Pastorale sur la naissance de Jesus Christ.
York Plays XV.
Pageant of Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry.
Chester Plays VII.
Ludus Coventinae XV, XVI.
Towneley Mysteries XII, XIII.

The Officium Pastorum has received considerable attention from investigators, since its liturgical basis was recognized very early. Davidson,⁸⁹ Creizenach,⁹⁰ and Chambers,⁹¹ have given brief accounts of the play from its earlier Latin forms to the full expansion in the semi-vernacular or transitional form, as the Play of the Shepherds. Mr. Cady⁹² draws comparisons between vernacular and liturgical plays. His article is, to some extent, an elaboration and application of the work of Chambers. Mr. Hemingway⁹³ has done the most thorough work in tracing the sources of the cycle plays in England. His investigations of the liturgical element are not intended to be exhaustive. This part of the field has been covered in the usual thorough and painstaking manner by Professor Karl Young.⁹⁴ He gives the original forms of the principal Christmas tropes and traces their expansion, both in dialogue and dramatic development, to the most complete and extensive extant Latin plays. The fact that this part of the field has been covered so thoroughly will enable us to present evidence in the form of a summary and to treat more fully only such additions as would seem required for the purpose of the present discussion.

It was a custom dating back to ancient times for the Gospel lesson for Christmas to be declaimed as a dramatic recitative. "Ein Priester oder

⁸⁹ *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*.

⁹⁰ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*.

⁹¹ *The Medieval Stage*, 2.

⁹² The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:449.

⁹³ *English Nativity Plays*.

⁹⁴ *Officium Pastorum: A Study of the Dramatic Development within the Liturgy of Christmas*.

Sänger rezitierte den Bericht des Evangelisten, ein anderer die Worte des Engels, und der Chor stimmte das Gloria in excelsis Deo an. Späterhin suchte man auch wohl ausführlichere Bearbeitungen, und je weniger der Evangelist daran gedacht hatte, Maria, Joseph, oder die Hirten redend einzuführen, desto eher glaubte man sich berechtigt, der Situation entsprechende Worte ihnen in den Mund zu legen. So entwickelte sich, namentlich in Spanien, aus den Weihnachtsspielen (*nacimientos*) die dramatische Kunst überhaupt."⁸⁵

That there was sufficient dramatic dialogue in the liturgy for Christmas from the earliest times, is evident from the *Liber Responsalis* of Gregory the Great:

In vigilia Natalis Domini, in secundo nocturno.

Resp. Quem vidistis, Pastores, dicite? Annuntiate nobis in terris quis apparuit?
Natum vidimus in choro angelorum Salvatorem Dominum.

Vs: Natus est nobis hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David.
Antiphonae in matutinis Laudibus.

Ant: Quem vidistis, pastores (as above).

Ant: Facta est cum angelo multitudo coelestis exercitus laudantium et dicentium:
Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax, hominibus bonae voluntatis,
alleluia.

Ant: Angelus ad pastores ait: Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, quia natus est nobis hodie Salvator mundi, alleluia.

Ant: Parvulus Filius hodie natus est nobis, et vocabitur Deus fortis

So little did the succeeding liturgists change this order of services, that the *Sarum Breviary* offers the same responses for the same hours:

In die nativitatis Domini, in secundo nocturno.

Resp: Quem vidistis pastores dicite: annuntiate nobis in terris quis apparuit.
Natum vidimus in choro angelorum salvatorem Dominum,

Vs: Secundum quod dictum est nobis ab angelo de puero isto: invenimus infantem pannis involutum et positum in praesepio in medio duum animalium

The remainder of the text shows no divergence from that of Gregory the Great.

The Christmas Tropes

The earliest forms of the *Quem vidistis* Trope were evidently taken directly from the liturgy. A trope from the *Diurnale andegavense*⁸⁶ reads:

In choro cantor solus dicit:

Quem vidistis, pastores, dicite? annuntiate nobis, in terris quis apparuit?

Pueri retro altare respondent:

Infantem invenimus pannis involutum, et multitudinem militiae coelestis laudantium Dominum.

⁸⁵ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 312.

⁸⁶ Du Meril, *Origines laïques du théâtre moderne*, 148, note.

And a trope from the *Diurnale secundum consuetudinem Romanae curiae*⁹⁷ reads.

Quem vidistis, pastores, dicite; annunciate nobis, in terris quis apparuit?
Natum vidimus et choro angelorum collaudentes Dominum Alleluia.

The complete form of the *Quem vidistis* trope was taken almost *verbatim* from the liturgy. The type form is:

Quem vidistis, pastores, dicite. Annunciate nobis, in terris quis apparuit?
Infantem invenimus pannis involutum, et multitudinem militiae coelestis
laudantium Dominum.
Dicite, quidnam vidistis, et annunciate Xpisti nativitatem.
Natum vidimus in choro angelorum Salvatorem Dominum (et choro angelorum
collaudentes Dominum. Alleluia.)
Natus est hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David.

This trope is found in the following liturgical scenes or plays beside the ones mentioned above:

Breviarium Santonense, fourteenth century.
Liber responsalis Sangallensis, twelfth century.
Breviarium Chiemsense, fifteenth century.
Breviarium Sangallense, eleventh century.
Breviarium Bituricense, thirteenth century.
Troparium Novaliciense, eleventh century.
Breviarium Pictaviense, fourteenth century.
Breviarium Silvanectense, fourteenth century.
Breviarium Andegavense, fourteenth century.
Liber responsalis Bellovacensis, thirteenth-fourteenth century.
Breviarium Cadomense, thirteenth century.
Breviarium Bisuntinum, fifteenth century.
Breviarium Claromontense, fourteenth century.⁹⁸

The time of the formation of this trope may precede that of the next to be discussed and go back to the ninth century.⁹⁹

The *Quem quaeritis* Christmas trope is undoubtedly modeled after the Easter trope of like name, and its composition took place at a very early date, since the earliest text, that of St. Gall, dates from the eleventh century.¹⁰⁰ On the question whether this trope originated in St. Gall, see *Officium Pastorum*, by Professor Young, page 300, note. He ascribes it to a *Troparium-Sequentiarium Martialense*:

In Natale Domini sint parati duo diaconi, induti dalmaticis, retro altare dicentes:
Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite?
Respondeant duo cantores in choro:
Salvatorem Christum Dominum, infantem pannis involutum, secundum
sermonem angelicam.

⁹⁷ Du Meril, *Origines laïques*

⁹⁸ Cf. Young, *Officium Pastorum*, 344.

⁹⁹ Page 348.

¹⁰⁰ Hemingway, vi i.

Item diaconi:

Adest hic parvulus cum Maria, matre sua, de qua vaticinando Isaias propheta: Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium. Et nunciate dicite quia natus est.

Tunc cantor dicat excelsa voce:

Alleluia, Alleluia, jam vere scimus Christum natum in terris, de quo canite omnes cum propheta dicentes:

Puer natus est (The Christmas introit).

The connection with both the Easter trope and the Christmas liturgy is perfectly obvious. The form of the St. Gall or Paris trope is also its type form. It is found in the following liturgical plays in addition to the one mentioned above:

- Troparium Sammaglorianum, twelfth century.
- Troparium Sancti Aredii Lemovicensis, eleventh century.
- Troparium Sancti Augustini Lemovicensis, eleventh century.
- Troparium Martialense, eleventh century.
- Graduale-Troparium Nivernense, twelfth century.
- Troparium Moissiacense, eleventh century.
- Troparium Oscense, eleventh-twelfth century.
- Troparium Ravennatense, eleventh-twelfth century.
- Troparium-Hymnarium Placentinum, twelfth century.
- Troparium Vercellense, twelfth century.
- Troparium Vercellense, eleventh century.
- Troparium Vicense, twelfth-thirteenth century.
- Processionale Vich, thirteenth-fourteenth century.
- Troparium-Sequentiarium Martialense, eleventh century.
- Graduale-Troparium Eporediense, eleventh century.
- Troparium-Tonale-Prosarium Lemovicense, eleventh-twelfth century.
- Graduale-Prosarium-Troparium Bobbiense, eleventh century.
- Troparium Sancti Benedicti Mantuani, eleventh century.
- Troparium Novaliciense, eleventh century.
- Breviarium Claramontense, fifteenth century.
- Breviarium Claramontense, fourteenth century.¹⁰¹

There is another trope, the *Hodie cantandus est*, by Tutilo, monk of St. Gall, end of the ninth century, which was used in a good many liturgical plays.¹⁰² Since, however, Chambers says of this trope: "It is an example of some half a dozen dialogued Introit tropes, which might have, but did not, become the starting point for further dramatic evolution,"¹⁰³ and since Professor Young fully substantiates this statement, after his exhaustive study, a reference to his discussion will be sufficient at this point.

Pastores

A short review of the principal liturgical plays will enable us to form

¹⁰¹ Cf. Young, *Officium Pastorum*, 300, note, and the entire discussion.

¹⁰² Young, 363.

¹⁰³ *The Medieval Stage*, 2:9.

an idea as to the manner of their development from the type form to their most expanded liturgical growth. In the *Officium Pastorum secundum usum ecclesiae cathedralis Claramontensis*, *Breviarium Claramontense*, fourteenth century,¹⁰⁴ we have the shortest form of the play; it consists virtually of the *Quem quaeritis* trope, with the dialogue divided between the Pastores and two Pueri (to indicate Obstetrices?).

In the *Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensem*¹⁰⁵ we have a complete play, with genuine drama. There is the appearance of the angel, with the *Nolite timere*, and then the *Gloria in excelsis*. There follows the *Transeamus usque Bethlehem*, then the *Quem quaeritis* at the *Praesepe*, and finally the *Quem vidistis*, representing the closing scene of the Christmas story.

In the *Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensem*, *Graduale Rothomagense*, thirteenth century,¹⁰⁶ we have an extended play, containing the same scenes, but a good deal of additional text. After the *Nolite timere* and the *Gloria in excelsis* there is a hymn by the Pastores: *Pax in terris nunciatur*, followed by the *Transeamus usque Bethlehem*. Then comes the *Quem quaeritis*, with an additional hymn of the Pastores: *Salve, virgo singularis*. After a great deal of responsorial material and the sequence *Nato canunt omnia*, the first part of the play ends. At the close of the Mass, we have the *Quem uidistis pastores dicite* and another hymn: *Verbum patris hodie Processit ex virgine*.

In the *Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensem*, *Ordinarium Rothomagense*, fourteenth century,¹⁰⁷ the text remains practically unchanged, but the liturgical responses are far more exhaustive and the stage directions far more complete.

The same is true of the *Officium Pastorum secundum usum Rothomagensem*, *Ordinarium Rothomagense*, fifteenth century.¹⁰⁸ The manuscript presupposes a general knowledge of the responses and rarely gives more than the cue words.

The *Ordo in Nativitate Domini secundum usum Rothomagensem*¹⁰⁹ offers hardly anything but stage directions to accompany the customary Christmas presentation.

The *Office des Pasteurs*, selon l'usage de Rouen, fourteenth century,¹¹⁰ which is not mentioned by Professor Young in his notes, is not materially different from the other Rouen ordines.

As early as the twelfth century, then, the *Quem quaeritis* trope was

¹⁰⁴ Young, *Officium Pastorum*, 322.

¹⁰⁵ Young, 323.

¹⁰⁶ Young, 325.

¹⁰⁷ Young, 330.

¹⁰⁸ Young, 387.

¹⁰⁹ Young, 391.

¹¹⁰ Du Meril, 147.

prefaced by the Angel scene with the *Nolite timere* and the *Gloria in excelsis*.¹¹¹ The expansion of the play by the addition of the trope *Quem vidistis* at the conclusion of Mass and by various hymns and responses taken from *Libri Responsales* and *Antiphonaria* was the most natural thing for the composers. Just how closely the *Troparia* and *Ordinaria* followed the liturgy, even in the embellishments of the texts, may be seen from the following table, which gives the origin of the various speeches.

- (a) In principio erat verbum Ant. in tertio noct. in Vigilia Oct. Dom. GR.¹¹²
- (b) Verbum caro Resp. in tertio noct. in vigilia nat. Dom. Ant. in evg. in vigil. natal. Domini. GR.
- (c) Quem ethera et terra Hymn.
- (d) Pastores erant in regione eadem uigilantes Lectio.
- (e) Nolite timere Lectio.
- (f) Pax in terris nunciatur Hymn.
- (g) Gloria in excelsis Deo Lectio. Resp. and Vs. in vigilia natalis Dom. ad Vesp. Ant. in evg. in vigilia natalis Dom. GR.
- (h) Transeamus usque Bethlehem Lectio.
- (i) { Quem quaeritis in praesepe
Salvatorem Christum Dominum
Adest hic parvulus cum Maria
All. All. jam vere scimus } Trope. Antiphonarium, eleventh century; *Annales archeologiques*. Cf. Du Meril.
- (j) Puer natus est Introit Christmas Mass. Resp. ad tertiam, in die nat. GR. Carmen, Daniel 1:334.
- (k) Natus est nobis hodie salvator Ant. in evg. vigil. natal. Dom. GR.
- (l) Salve, virgo singularis Hymn, *Annales archeologiques*.
- (m) Tecum principium Ant. in die natali, ad Vesp. GR.
- (n) { Quem vidistis pastores dicite
Natum vidimus
Dicite quidnam vidistis } Trope, after Resp. in secundo noct. in vigil. nat. Dom., or Ant. in mat. laud. in vigil. natal. Dom. GR.
- (o) Dominus regnavit Psalm.
- (p) Verbum patris hodie processit ex virgine Hymn.
- (q) Ecce completa sunt omnia
- (r) { Gloria in altissimis
Facta est hodie multitudo } Trope for Christmas, cf. Young, page 350.
- (s) Dominus dixit ad me Psalm.
- (t) Quare fremuerunt Psalm in vigil. Nat. Dom. ad Vesp. GR.
- (u) Genuit puerpera regem cui nomen aeternum Ant. in matut. laudibus in vigil. natal. Dom. GR.
- (v) Angelus ad pastores ait: Annuntio Ant. in matut. laud. in vigil. nat. Dom. GR.
- (w) Facta est cum angelo Ant. in matut. laud. in vigil. natal. Dom. GR.

¹¹¹ Young, *A Contribution to the History of Liturgical Drama at Rouen*, *Modern Philology*, 6 201.

¹¹² GR = *Liber Responsalis Gregorii Magni*, Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78.

- (x) Parvulus filius hodie natus est nobis Ant. in matut. laudibus in
vigilia natal. Dom. GR.
- (y) Nato Domino angelorum chorus canebat dicens: Salus Deo nostro
Ant. in tertio noct. in vigil. Oct. Dom. GR.
- (z) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Hodie cantandus est} \\ \text{Quis est iste puer} \\ \text{Hic enim est quem presagus} \end{array} \right\} \text{Trope by Tutilo of St. Gall. Cf.}$
Young, page 362.

The Transition Plays

The liturgical element did not cease to be present when the transitional stage of the early drama was reached, but persisted with great vigor. In the *Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini*¹¹³ both the stage direction in the Birth scene: *Nato puero, appareat stella et incipiat chorus hanc antiphonam Hodie Christus natus est*, and the *Gloria in Excelsis* . . . *Facta est cum angelo multitudo coelestis*, and especially the *Pastores dicite* . . . *Infantem vidimus* . . . point to definite liturgical influence, obviously through the medium of a liturgical play.

This influence is even more apparent in the *Officium Pastorum* of the *Shrewsbury Fragments*.¹¹⁴ The scene opens with: *Pastores erant in regione eadem uigilantes et custodientes gregem suam. Et ecce angelus Domini astitit juxta illos et timuerunt timore magno* (d). Then the Star appears and the Angels sing, after which the shepherds discuss the apparition and the message. Then there is another liturgical tag: *Transeamus usque Bethlehem et uideamus hoc verbum* . . . (h). In a note, Professor Manly refers to a line in the Adoration scene, which is an addition by a later hand: *Saluatorem Christum, Dominum, infantem pannis involutum* . . . (i). If nothing else, this line indicates the fact that the origin of the play was liturgical.

The Shepherd Plays

In the vernacular field, the liturgical element is not nearly so prominent, a circumstance due, no doubt, to the fact that the material was not taken *directly* from the liturgy, but from secondary sources, from the expanded liturgical plays. There was a *Gebort Christi* as a pageant in the *Zerbster Prozession*,¹¹⁵ as well as in the poem *Von der Beschaffung diser Welt*,¹¹⁶ both of which show decided liturgical influence. In the *Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel* of Maastricht,¹¹⁷ the liturgical influence

¹¹³ Schmeller, *Carmina burana*, 80.

¹¹⁴ Waterhouse, *Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*; Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, xxviii.

¹¹⁵ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2.276.

¹¹⁶ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2.130.

¹¹⁷ J. Zacher, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2.302.

is seen in the *Annunctio vobis gaudium magnum . . .* (e) of the Angel scene, and in the *Quem vidistis pastores dicite . . .* (n) of the Adoration scene. In the *Egerer Spiel*¹¹⁸ the *Gloria in excelsis* was sung in the Nativity scene. After the announcement of the angel, the shepherds sing: *Nunc angelorum gloria hominibus resplenduit, in mundo novi partus gaudium virgo mater produxit, et sol verus in tenebris illuxit.* After the Adoration "transeunt de puero cantando: Ein kindelin so lobelich ist uns geporen hiute," which is a translation of the second stanza of the Latin Christmas hymn: *Dies est laetitiae.* In the summary of the *Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel*¹¹⁹ this part is unfortunately omitted.

In the French play *Pastorale sur la Naissance de Jesus Christ*¹²⁰ the order of the later liturgical plays is observed and the *Gloria in excelsis* appears in the conventional place.

In the English field, the York Plays seem to be the ones in which the evidence of influence by liturgical plays is most apparent. Even in the Birth scene, the prophecy of Balaam is introduced, and the old corrupt version of "between per bestis two" is referred to, a prophecy ascribed to Abacuc. This seems to show influence of the *Prophetæ*. In the Angels and the Shepherds, the prophecies of Hosea, Isaiah, and Balaam are referred to in the first scene. The other scenes, the announcement of the angel and the adoration, show great similarity to the *Shrewsbury Fragments*, the last speech of *Tertius Pastor* agreeing with that text, practically word for word, as Skeat, Waterhouse, and Manly have pointed out.

In the *Shearmen and Tailors Pageant of Coventry* there is strong evidence for influence of the *Stella* play, both in the appearance of the star and in the presenting of gifts. However, the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Announcement of the Angel*: *Hyrdmen hynd, Drede ye nothyng . . .* calls to mind the *Nolite timere . . .* (e).¹²¹

In the *Chester Plays* (VII) the liturgical influence is still evident, although only in a remote way. The announcement of the angel: *Nolite timere . . .* (e), the *Gloria in excelsis . . .* (g), and the *Transeamus usque Bethleem . . .* (h) seem to have been the liturgical outline tags which persisted for the longest time, as the *Shrewsbury Fragments* show. In the *Play of the Shepherds of Chester* there is a stage direction: *Tunc cantet angelus, Gloria in excelsis . . .* (g). The shepherds, after their consultation, exclaim: *Now wende we fourth to Bethleem . . .* (h), and afterwards: *To Bethleem take we the waye . . .* (h).

In the *Coventry Mysteries* (XVI) we find the same persistence of the

¹¹⁸ K. Bartach, *Germania*, 3:267.

¹¹⁹ *Germania*, 4:338.

¹²⁰ Du Meril, 393.

¹²¹ Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, *Early English Text Society*, 87 Extra Series 7

liturgical element. The play opens: "Angelus ad pastores dicit Gloria in excelsis Deo . . . (g).

Joye to God that sytt in hevyn,
And pes to man on erthe grownde!
A chylde is born benethe the levyn,
Thurwe hym many ffolke xul be unbownde." (e).

After a discussion among the shepherds, in which the Prophetæ influence is evident, the Gloria in excelsis is sounded for the second time, whereupon the Transeamus is brought out in the speech of Secundus Pastor:

Lete us ffolwe with alle oure myght (h).
Tunc pastores cantabunt Stella caeli extirpavit. Quo facto, ibunt ad quaerendum
Christum.

After the Adoration Joseph admonishes the shepherds:

Herdys on hylle, Bethe not styлле,
But seyth zuor wylle To many a man,

which reminds one strongly of the Dicite quidnam vidistis (n) of the liturgical plays.

There still remains the consideration of the Towneley Mysteries (XII, XIII). Both of these plays, in spite of the great difference between them in other respects, show liturgical influence. The Prima pagina pastorum has the Prophetæ subject-matter, as shown above. But beside this evident influence, there is other material urging the same conclusion. The Angelus announces:

Herkyn, hyrdes, awake, Gyf lovyng ye shall (d.e.).

That chylde is borne At Bethelem this morne,
Ye shalle fynde hym beforne Betwix two bestys.

There is Stella influence in the last part of this play.

In the Secunda pagina pastorum the angel's message is again prominent:

Angelus cantat Gloria in excelsis (g): postea dicat
Ryse, hyrd men heynd, for now is he borne
That shall take fro the feynd that Adam had lorne

At Bedlem go se, Ther Lyges that fre
In a cryb fulle poorely Betwyx two bestys.

The Transeamus . . . (h) also seems to be expressed in the lines:

So we now let us fare: the place is us nere,
I am redy and yare: go we in fere

At the close, the Stella influence is again apparent in the presenting of gifts.

The following conclusions would seem to be warranted from the material offered here: The Latin liturgical Pastores plays were based entirely

upon the liturgy, the tropes being composed at the suggestion of the responses, often with the text of the services. The construction of the vernacular and cycle plays shows the prominence of the ancient liturgical outline, which not even extraneous subject-matter has obliterated.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI AND THE RACHEL PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Officium Stellae, selon Denis.
Office des Mages, Limoges.
Office de l'Etoile, Rouen.
Officium of Besançon.
Officium Stellae, ad usum Rothomagensensem.
Officium Stellae, Rouen, fifteenth century.
Officium Stellae, Nevres I.
Officium Stellae, Nevres II.
Officium Stellae, eleventh century, probably Nevres.
Mystere de l'Adoration des Mages, Freising-Munich.
Dreikönigsspiel von Straszburg.
Officium Stellae, Rouen, twelfth century.
Officium Stellae, Einsiedeln, twelfth century.
Officium Stellae, Vatican, Rome.
Ordo Rachel, eleventh century, Freising-Munich.
Massacre des saints Innocents, Orleans.
Ordo, Festum Infantum, Rouen, fifteenth century.
Benediktbeuern Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini.
Mastricht Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel.
Egerer Spiel.
Play of the Weavers of Coventry.
Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry.
Chester Plays, VIII, IX, X.
Ludus Coventriac, XVII, XIX.
Towneley Mysteries, XIV, XV, XVI.
York Plays, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

The Play of the Three Kings, or the Herod, Magi, and Stella Play, as it is also called, has received the full interest of investigators. Chambers,¹²² Creizenach,¹²³ and others have given complete, though brief, accounts of the play and its development. Anz¹²⁴ has done the most exhaustive work on the subject, tracing the relation between the liturgy and the developed plays from the type form to the most expanded Latin drama. His work has been supplemented, so far as texts and additional notes are concerned, by Professor Young.¹²⁵

Of the origin of the play, Anz says: "Am Epiphanientage fand bei

¹²² *The Medieval Stage*, 2:45.

¹²³ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 55.

¹²⁴ *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*.

¹²⁵ A Contribution to the History of the Liturgical Drama at Rouen, *Modern Philology*, 6:201; *Officium Stellae*, *Modern Language Notes*, 27: March.

der Messe eine 'Oblatio trium regum ad altare' statt, der wohl eine kurze Prozession im Chorraum selbst vorausging. Unter bestimmten Einflüssen wurde sodann diese Feier in die frühe Morgenstunde, an den Schlus der Nokturnfeier, verlegt," page 34. And of its development: "Die Epiphanienoblationsfeier, die mit dem Offertorium Reges Tharsis eng verbunden war, wurde durch Ausdehnung der ursprünglich nur auf den Chorraum beschränkten Prozession von ihrer ursprünglichen Stelle verdrängt und zu einer Matutinfeier gemacht. Hier wirkten offensichtlich ein parallele Weihnachtsmatutinfeiern und gaben dem Offizium die Gestalt, die uns im Typus I vorliegt," page 42.

The Epiphany Liturgy

The liturgy for Epiphany offered not merely suggestions for a play for that day, but also a great deal of material for the dialogue. The Offertory "Reges Tharsis et Insulae munera offerent, reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent, alleluia" occurs also as a response and as an antiphon, both in the second and in the third nocturn. And not merely that, but the principal scenes are also carried by the responses. The coming and the inquiry of the Kings is given:

Magi veniunt ab oriente ierosolymam quaerentes et dicentes: Ubi est qui natus est, cuius stellam vidimus, et venimus adorare Dominum. (Resp. in secundo noct.)

Their discussion with Herod is indicated:

Interrogabat magos Herodes: Quod signum vidistis super natum Regem? Stellam magnam fulgentem, cuius splendor illuminat mundum; et nos cognovimus, et venimus adorare Dominum (Resp. in secundo noct.).

The continuation of the journey and the reappearance of the star is emphasized:

Stella quam viderant Magi in Oriente antecedeat eos, donec venirent ad locum ubi puer erat. Videntes autem eam gavisii sunt gaudio magno. Et intrantes domum invenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius, et proidentes adoraverunt eum (Resp. in primo noct.).

And the antiphons in Evangelio add:

Stella ista sicut flamma coruscat, et Regem regum Deum demonstrat
Ab oriente venerunt magi in Bethlehemi adorare Dominum; et apertis thesauris suis pretiosa munera obtulerunt, aurum sicut regi magno, thus sicut (Domino vero), myrrha sepultura eius, alleluia.

In one case (Antiph. in matutinis laudibus) it is even stated:

Magi viderunt stellam, dixerunt ad invicem: hoc signum magni Regis est, camus et inquiramus eum, et offeramus ei munera, aurum, thus, et myrrham.

Officium Stellae

With so much of the liturgy in mind, the type form of the Magi Play has a familiar aspect. The author showed some originality, but hardly went farther than to give part of the story in dialogue form. The type form, which agrees in the main with what Anz conceived it to be, has the following contents:

Hymn: Stella fulgore nimio rutilat, Quae regem regum natum demonstrat,
Quem venturum olim prophetiae signaverunt.

Magi: Eamus ergo et inquiramus eum, offerentes ei munera: aurum, thus, et myrrham.

Ecce stella in oriente praevisa

Obstetrices: Qui sunt hii, qui, stella duce

Magi: Nos sumus, quos cernitis, reges Tharsis

Obstetrices: Ecce puer adest quem quaeritis

Magi: Salve, princeps saeculorum.

Suscipe, rex, aurum

Tolle thus, tu vere Deus

Myrrham signum sepulturae.

Impleta sunt omnia

Tria sunt munera

Angelus: Ite viam remeantes aliam

This type form, according to Anz, illustrates the first stage of the real play. There were simpler forms or presentations of the Adoration scene, which probably represent the first steps toward real drama. Of the Limoges Office des Mages¹²⁶ Chambers says: "The text of this version stands by itself," page 45. It is shorter even than the earliest Rouen version:

Hymn: O quam dignis celebranda, dies ista laudibus

The oblation is given in rhymed form:

Aurum, primo; thus, secundo; myrrham dante tertio.

Aurum, regem; thus, coelestem; mori notat unctio.

Magi: Hoc signum magni regis.

Eamus, inquiramus eum et offeremus ei munera: aurum, thus, et myrrham.

Hymn: Nuntium vobis fero de supernis

Ant: In Bethlehem natus est rex coelorum

Another isolated version which, in a way, is even more odd, is the *Officium Stellae*, selon Denis.¹²⁷ It is a versified form of the oblation scene, either based upon a hymn of that kind, or composed with the suggestion of that part of the liturgy in mind, as is shown by the lines:

Haec regem regum monstrat.

Aurum sit regi! Domino thus! Myrrha hominique!

¹²⁶ Du Meril, 151.

¹²⁷ Codices manuscripti theologici, Du Meril, 151, note.

This play has recently been investigated, with the others of the series, in the *Poema Biblicum* of Onulphus, by Professor Young.

If nothing else, these isolated Stella plays go to show that the liturgy was the inspiration and the chief source of the dramatic art of that time.

Aside from these two plays, the type form given above was used and expanded in the following extant texts:

Office de l'Etoile, selon l'usage de Rouen, *Johannis Abrincensis Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis*.¹²⁸ This contains the type form, as given above, with the single addition of *Interrogabat magos*, which introduces Herod.

Die Feier von Besançon.¹²⁹ After the introduction with the hymns *Novae geniturae* and *Nos respectu gratiae*, the play is really no more than recitative dialogue of the Epiphany Gospel, according to the liturgy of the day.

Officium Stellae, Processionale ad usum Rothomagensis, thirteenth century.¹³⁰ This is a fragment, containing only the oblation scene, according to the type form. Professor Young writes: "Folio 3, which certainly contained the first part of this dramatic office, is torn out."

Officium Stellae, Rouen, fifteenth century.¹³¹ It contains the type form with the addition of the *Interrogabat magos*. Gaste, *Les Drame Liturgiques de la Cathedrale de Rouen*, 49-52, and Coussemaker, *Les Drame Liturgiques du Moyen Age*, 242-249, present the same text.

Officium Stellae of Nevres I, 1060.¹³² This play, in the form in which we have it, contains only the Nuntius and the Scribe scenes.

The second Magi Play of Nevres¹³³ contains the type form with expanded Herod scene, the Nuntius becoming very prominent and the Interview complete.

Officium Stellae, eleventh century, probably of Nevres.¹³⁴ There is a small extension in the Herod scene, the Magi answering Herod's *Regem quem quaeritis natum esse, quo signo didicistis . . .* with the words, *Illum natum esse didicimus in oriente stella monstrante*; whereupon Herod says: *Ite, et de puero diligenter investigate . . .*

The fragment in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres*, 34 (1909): 296-297, has not been accessible.

Mystere de l'Adoration des Mages, Freising-Munich, eleventh century.¹³⁵ The play opens with a short Pastores scene: *Pastores, annuntio . . . Transeamus . . . Gloria in excelsis* The usual

¹²⁸ Du Meril, 153.

¹²⁹ Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, 142-145.

¹³⁰ Young *Modern Philology*, 6 212.

¹³¹ Young, 6 220-1.

¹³² Romania, 4 2, 3. Anz, 146.

¹³³ Romania, 4 3-6. Anz, 146.

¹³⁴ Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24 296.

¹³⁵ Du Meril, 156.

parts follow, till the introductory Herod scene, which has been extended considerably, the Internuntius announces the coming of the Magi:

Salve, rex Judaeorum
Quid rumoris affers

the Nuntius conferring with the Magi. Then follows the Regem quem with its answer, the consultation with the scribes, their answer: Vidimus, Domine, in prophetarum libris Bethlehem non es minima. After the consultation, the Armiger announces the Ite, de puero diligenter Next comes a scene with the Pastores, dicite, quidnam vidistis , after which follows the adoration of the Magi and the customary ending. It may be noted here that the liturgy for Epiphany itself offers occasion for the introduction of the Pastores (Resp. in tertio nocturno.)

Officium Stellae, Troparium-Prosarium, thirteenth century, Sicily.¹²⁶ The play opens in the usual manner. There is a Venite adoremus after the opening hymn. In the Herod scene, the question appears: Si illum regnare creditis, dicite nobis. The answer is: Hunc regnare fatentes , accompanied by an explanation of the meaning of the gifts. After the scribes have been called and have stated the prophecy, the play continues in the usual manner, with the one notable difference that the Ecce stella is in verse form.

Mystere de l'Adoration des Mages, Orleans-Fleury, twelfth century.¹²⁷ There is a complete Pastores at the opening of this play: Nolite timere Gloria Transeamus Quem quaeritis Salvatorem Christum Adest parvulus Salve rex Venite, venite In the remainder of the play there are only two additions: in the Quem vidistis, the hymn Quae non praevalent propria, and at the end Gaudete fratres, Christus nobis natus est.

Dreikönigsspiel aus Straszburg, Antiphonarium, Straszburg, 1200.¹²⁸ Here appears the hymn Hostis Herodes impie. The play is like the other texts, with the exception of the ending, where the Armiger comes in with the announcement: Delusus es, Domine ; whereupon Rex flies into a rage: Incendium meum ruina exstinguam.

The text in *Melanges d'Archeologie d'histoire et de Litterature*, 1 (1847): 258-260, has not been accessible.

Officium Stellae, Rouen, twelfth century.¹²⁹ This is the most expanded version of the Stella Play. After the customary opening follows a choral antiphon: Haec primum orientales fines collustrans, The

¹²⁶ Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24 325.

¹²⁷ Du Meril, 163.

¹²⁸ Lange, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 32:412-3.

¹²⁹ Young, *Modern Philology*, 6 208-211.

scene of the interview between Herod and the Magi is carried out in detail. When the visitors are brought before the king, two of them address him in a meaningless jargon, after which the conversation takes its usual course. They leave for Bethlehem, meet the Shepherds, are challenged by the Obstetrices, bring their gifts, and receive the command from the angel *Ite, viam remeantes aliam* Then follows the announcement of the Internuntius: *Delusus es* The son of Herod gives the advice to kill all the children of Bethlehem, in which he is seconded by the Duces. The manuscript ends in the middle of the sentence, the last part being lost.

· Officium Stellae, Einsiedeln, eleventh to twelfth century.¹⁴⁰ This is a fragment, beginning in the Pastores scene. It has the Obstetrices, the Adoration and the Oblation, and the Wrath of Herod.

Officium Stellae, printed by Hartmann, *Über das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, 43-46, and Chevalier, *Ordinaires de l'Eglise Cathedrale de Laon*, thirteenth century, 389-394, are not accessible.

Officium Stellae, Vatican Library, Rome.¹⁴¹ A fragmentary text, which contains all the principal parts of the play, from the Stella fulgore to the *Ite, viam remeantes aliam*. The fragment seems to close with the wrath of Herod.

This review of the plays yields the following fully expanded type of the Stella or Magi Play.

Introduction

Magi: Stella fulgore nimio rutilat
Eamus ergo et inquiramus eum

Arrival of Magi

Nuntius: Assunt nobis, domine, tres viri ignoti
Rex: Ad nos vocentur ut eorum a nobis sermones audiantur.
Nuntius: Rex vos vocat ut quem queratis
Armiger: Vive rex in aeternum.
Rex: Quid rumoris habes?
Armiger: En magi veniunt
Rex: Ante venire jubeo
Armiger: Regia vos mandata vocant

Interview with Herod

Magi: Salve, princeps Judaeorum
Rex: Quae sit causa viae, qui vos
Magi: Rex est causa viae
Rex: Regem quem quaeritis natum esse quo signo

¹⁴⁰ Anz, 152

¹⁴¹ Young, *Modern Language Notes*, 27: March

Magi: Illum natum esse didicimus in Oriente
Rex: Si illum regnare creditis, dicite nobis
Magi: Hunc regnare fatentes cum mysticis muneribus auro regem
thure sacerdotem, myrrha mortalem.

Scribe Scene

Rex: Huc symmistae mei
Nuntius: Vos legis periti a rege vocati
Rex: O vos scribae interrogati dicite
Scribae: Vidimus, domine, in prophetarum lineis
Chorus: Bethlehem, non es minima
Rex: Ite et de puero diligenter investigate

Pastores

Magi: Ecce stella in oriente praevisa
Magi: Pastores dicite, quidnam vidistis
Pastores: Infantem vidimus pannis involutum

Obstetrices

Obstetrices: Qui sunt hi, quos stella ducit
Magi: Nos sumus, quos cernitis
Obstetrices: Ecce puer adest Iam properate

Adoration and Oblation

Magi: Salve, princeps saeculorum.
 Suscipe, rex, aurum.
 Tolle thus, tu vere deus.
 Myrrham signum sepulturae.
Angelus: Impleta sunt omnia
 Ite, viam remeantes aliam

Wrath of Herod

Nuntius: Delusus es, domine
Rex: Incendium meum ruina exstinguam

The expansion proceeded in this manner: The Herod scene, the interview, was added first, then the Scribe scene, the Wrath and minor additions, then the Pastores. The Rachel Play was the natural sequel of this story, as the discussion will show.

That the greater number of these scenes have their source in the liturgy, and that all of them have some connection with the liturgy, may be seen from the following table:¹⁴²

¹⁴² GR = *Liber Responsalis Gregorii Magni*, Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78.

The connection of the Rachel Play or the Slaughter of the Innocents with the Magi Play is a most natural one. The wrath of Herod is expressed at the end of the Magi in the most forcible terms, and he receives the advice to put all the children of Bethlehem to death. The carrying-out of this plan would follow in the sequel, and that sequel was already contained in an office for the Feast of the Innocents, the 28th of December.

Chambers says¹⁴³ that the Rachel was taken up into the Stella just as was the Pastores. Creizenach says.¹⁴⁴ "Es lag nahe, die Darstellung der Ereignisse des Weihnachtstages und des Tages der unschuldigen Kinder mit diesem Feste (Epiphania) zu verbinden, die Anbetung der Hirten als ein Vorspiel voranzustellen, den bethlehemitischen Kindermord als unmittelbare Folge anzuschliessen und so die Ereignisse der Weihnachtszeit zu einer zyklischen Darstellung abzurunden."

There was no lack of material in the liturgy for a play of the Innocents. Both the story and the prophecies and other Scripture passages referring to the children and the innocent dead are contained in the order of services for the Festum Innocentium. The Rachel Play of Limoges, eleventh century, "hardly more than a trope" (Chambers), containing a short lament of Rachel and the words of the consoling angel, was undoubtedly based on the Antiphonae in Matutinis Laudibus and found its place in the services there. Rachel, after the words of the prophet Jeremiah, personified all the women of Bethlehem, the city of Rachel (Gen. 35:19, 20) in their lament.

The type form of the play was probably the following:

The Flight into Egypt

Joseph, Joseph, surge
Quod prophetica dudum vox insonuit
Aegypte, noli flere, quia dominator

The Command and the Slaughter

Rex: Rex novus ut pereat regisque furor requiescat
Internunt: In Bethleem natum probat
Hymn: Hostis Herodes impie

The Lament

Consolatrix: Quid tu, virgo mater, ploras
Rachel: Heu, Heu, quod tu me incusas
Haud flendus est iste

There have been only two texts, properly speaking, of the Rachel Play published till now. The first one is the Ordo Rachel, eleventh century, Freising-Munich.¹⁴⁵ After the announcement of the angel to the shepherds and the adoration there followed the Quidnam vidistis and then the play proper as given in the type form above.

Massacre des saints Innocents, Orleans.¹⁴⁶ After the introduction:

¹⁴³ Chambers, 2 44.

¹⁴⁴ Chambers, 2 55.

¹⁴⁵ Du Meril, 171.

¹⁴⁶ Du Meril, 175.

Quam gloriosum est regnum Emitte agnum, Domine
 Super solium David, there follows the warning to Joseph, the
 Aegypte noli flere, the announcement that the Magi have failed to return,
 and the Incendium meum ruina exstinguam. Then the Armiger proceeds
 to the slaughter, while the innocents sing: Salve agnus Dei
 and Quare non defendis The lament of Rachel is very long,
 reminding one of the extensive Planctus of the medieval period. After
 the speeches given in the type form there is an extra Anxiatus in me ,
 which substantiates the theory of a connection with the Planctus poetry,
 and a Sinite parvulos After the hymn: O Christe, quantum
 Patri exercitum there follows the command Joseph fili
 David, revertere in terram Judaeam, and finally the Antiphon
 Gaude Maria virgo.

Ordo, Festum Infantum, Rouen, fifteenth century.¹²⁷ This is a very
 complete ordo for the festival and contains all the liturgical source material,
 but it does not contain a developed play.

How closely the authors of the plays followed the liturgy, may be seen
 here also from a table comparing the plays and the liturgy:

- (a') Joseph, Joseph, surge Lectio in Festum Innoc. According to
 Gueranger¹²⁸ this warning to Joseph had a prominent place in the
 liturgy of that day.
- (b') Quod prophetica dudum vox insonuit, Angelica tuba nunc admonuit
 Hymn.
- (c') Aegypte, noli flere Ant. Antiphonarium, twelfth century.
- (d') (Slaughter.) Herodes iratus Ant. Evg. Epiph. Sarum Breviary.
- (e') Sub altare audiui voces occisorum Resp. in primo noct GR.
- (f') Et cum eo centum quadraginta quattuor milia, habentes nomen eius
 Trope on the Epistle of Innocents Day, thirteenth century. Gautier,
Les Tropes, page 151.
- (g') Hostis Herodes impie Hymn for Epiphany. Daniel, *Thes.*
hymnol., 1:147.
- (h') (Lament.) Vox in Rama audita est Ant. in matut. laudibus,
 Festum Innocentium. GR.
 A troped Lament in Gautier, 168:
 O dulces filii, quos nunc progenui,
 Olim dicta mater, quod nomen tenui.

 Heu! mihi miserae, cum possim vivere,
 Cum natos coram me video perdere,
 Atque lacerare, parum detruncare.
 Herodes impius, furore repletus,
 Nimum superbus perdit meos partus.
- (i') *Angelus*: Noli, Rachel, deflere pignora
- (j') Quid tu, virgo mater, ploras, Rachel formosa Ant. eleventh
 century, Daniel 2.30,

¹²⁷ Young, *Modern Philology*, 6.216.

¹²⁸ *The Liturgical Year*, 1.330.

De uno martyre; a sequence composed by Notker, No. 432, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*; 11:267.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|--------------------------------|
| (k') | { | Haud flendus est iste | } | Ant. in Psalm. |
| | | Quam gloriosum est regnum | | |
| | | Emitte agnum, domine | | |
| | | Super solium David | | |
| (l') | | Salve agnus Dei, salve qui tollis | | Ant. |
| (m') | | Quare non defendis sanguinem | | Resp. in primo noct. in vigil. |
| | | Innoc. GR. | | |
| (n') | | Anxiatus in me spiritus | | Planctus Ant. |
| (o') | | Sinite parvulos | | Ant. in Evg. Die Innoc. GR. |
| (p') | | Joseph, Joseph, fili David, revertere in terram Judaeam | | From Gospel |
| (q') | | Gaude, Maria virgo; cunctas haereses sola interimisti | | Ant. of Magnificat. |

The liturgical influence which was so strong in the Latin church plays, both in the Magi and in the Rachel, persisted also in the transitional and vernacular plays.

In the Benediktbeuern *Ludus scenicus de nativitate Domini*¹⁴⁹ there are the following scenes that come into consideration here: The coming of the three Kings, the interview with Herod, the adoration of the Magi, the slaughter of the Innocents, the flight into Egypt, the falling of the idols. The Pastores dicite Infantem vidimus pannis involutum mentioned above is in this play a dialogue between the Magi and the Pastores, thus fitting in exactly with the later development of the plays. The question of the Magi upon their arrival at Jerusalem is: Ubi est qui natus est They affirm: Regem natum quaerimus de quo stella loquitur During the interview they state: Stella nova radiat eius ortus nuntia, cui mundus obediēt, et qui regnat omnia, et nil stare poterit absque huius gratia. Nos ad illum tendimus haec ferentes munera. Herod answers: Ite, ad nos postea maturantes reditum. After the adoration the Magi receive the warning: Nolite redire ad Herodem. In spite of the corruption of this play the influence of the liturgical plays is not absent.

The Herod Plays

There was a pageant of Die heiligen drei konnige and one of Herodes in the Zerbster Prozession,¹⁵⁰ as also in the poem Von der Beschaffung diser Welt,¹⁵¹ which is certainly based upon the liturgy. In the Egerer Spiel¹⁵² there was a Magi with an adoration and oblation of "Gold, Weih-

¹⁴⁹ Schmeller, *Carmina burana*, 80.

¹⁵⁰ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:276.

¹⁵¹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

¹⁵² Bartsch, *Germania*, 3:267.

rauch, und Myrrhen" by the three kings, Melchior, Balthasar, Caspar. There was also the Flight into Egypt, the Slaughter, and Rachel. In the *Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel* of Maastricht¹⁵³ the liturgical tags have been preserved quite definitely. In the Magi there is

Hoc signum magni regis est
 Ubi est qui natus est rex Judaeorum?
 Vive rex in aeternum.
 Salutat vos gratia mea.
 Vidimus stellam eius in Oriente vere

After the adoration, the Angelus appears:

Auditi verbum Domini gentes

The fact that the Magi have returned to their country is reported to Herod, who gives the command for the slaughter. The angel warns Joseph: *Descende in Aegyptum*. The slaughter takes place. Angel: *Tolle puerum et matrem eius*

In the English field, the persistence of the liturgical element is very marked. In the Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry,¹⁵⁴ in the introduction to the play proper (Purification), there is a dialogue of Profetae, in the course of which they discuss the several events leading up to the Presentation. In speaking of the offering of the Magi, *Primus Profeta* gives the liturgical meaning of the presents:

The furst wasse gold, as most myghte kyng;
 The seycond wasse myr, asse prist of pristis beyng;
 The thryd wasse incense, in tokynng of byrring (page 37). (f)

In the Pageant of the Shearmen and Tailors of Coventry¹⁵⁵ Herod and the Slaughter is a very complete play. After the opening scene with the boasting of Herod, the Magi enter. The opening speech,

Now blessid be God of his swet sonde,
 For yondur a feyr bryght star I do see!
 Now ys he coñon, vs a-monge,
 Asse the profet seyde that ytt schuld be,

as well as the first lines of the other two kings remind very strongly of the *Stella fulgore nimio rutilat, Et Regem regum natum demonstrat* (c). The scenes follow as in the liturgical play. After they have left Jerusalem, the kings pray for guidance, whereupon one of them exclaims:

Yonder, brothur, I see the star, Wherby I kno he ys nott far

which is undoubtedly the *Ecce Stella* (s). In the adoration scene the liturgical element appears plainly again:

¹⁵³ Zacher, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2 302.

¹⁵⁴ Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*.

¹⁵⁵ Craig, 16.

A cupe-full (of) golde here I haue the broght,
In toconyng thow art with-out pere.

In toconyng of prestehod and dygnete of offece,
To the I offur a cupe-full of in-sence,
For yt be-hovith the to haue soch sacrefyce.

I haue broght the myre for mortalete,
In to-cunyng thow schalt mankynd restore
To lyff be thy deyth apon a tre. (f).

The remaining scenes also follow the sequence of the liturgical plays.

In the Digby Plays¹⁵⁶ "Candlemas Day & the kyllynge of the children of Israell, anno domini 1512," there is influence of the Slaughter of the Innocents and Rachel Play. The source must have been one similar to that of the Bencdiktbeuern play, because the falling of the idols is included after the "O Joseph, ryse vp, and loke thu tarry nought" (Joseph surge) and the flight into Egypt (a').

In the Chester Plays there is not only the evident influence of the Prophetæ (VIII, The Three Kings) and the same sequence and cue words as in the liturgical plays, but there are other definite indications of liturgical influence. In the Offering and Return of the Three Kings (IX) there is:

The starre I see it come againe,
That was out of our sighte,

in the place of the Ecce stella in Oriente praevisa (s). The significance of the presents is also given according to the liturgy:

Kings of Jewes we shall hym call,
Theirfore of me have he shall,
That am his subiecte and his thralle,
Golde, or I passe.
And seithe he hath in hym godheade,
Me thinkes, as eate I breade,
Incense to geve hym through my reade,
In name of sacrifice.

And myrre is good me thinkes also,
Scith he for man will suffer woe,
And dye on roode tree.

A kinges power, south to saie,
By goulde heare in my hande;
And for his godhead lasteth aye,
Incense we must geve hym to daie;
And bodelye death also, in good faye,
By myrre I understande. (f)

¹⁵⁶ Furnivall, *Digby Mysteries*.

The sequence of the other incidents, including those of the Slaughter of the Innocents (X) is the same as in the liturgical plays. The Joseph surge is again prominent in "Joseph, arise, and that anon," (a') and there is a final antiphon,

Ex Egipto vocavi filium meum, et salvum faciet populum meum.

In the Coventry Mysteries, the Scribe scene is lacking (The Adoration of the Magi, XVII), the Magi supplying the information from the prophecy of Balaam. The liturgical influence persists in the oblation scene:

Gold I gyffe the in this halle,
And know the for my Lorde.
Sote encense I offere to the,
None so mekylle of myght.
Byttyr myre to the I brynge,
And byttyr deth xalle be thi endyng. (f).

In the Slaughter of the Innocents (XIX) the passages: "Awake, Joseph, and take thi wyff," (a') as well as the lament remind strongly of the liturgical plays.

In the Towneley Plays the liturgical influence is found in structure as well as in contents. Balaam's star prophecy is easily accounted for. The speech of Primus Rex:

A lordynges! behold the lyght
Of yonde starne, with bemys bright,
Forsothe I saghe never sich a sight
In no-kyns land;
A starne thus, aboute mydnyght,
So bright shynand

seems to be a rendering of *Stella fulgore nimio rutilat*, (c) especially since Tercius Rex explains:

Yond starne betokyns, welle wote I,
The byrthe of a prynce, syrs, securly,
That shawys welle the prophecy
That it so be,

which certainly points to *Quae Regem regum natum demonstrat, Quem venturum olim prophetia signaverat*. (c)

The kings speak of the meaning of their gifts:

In tokyn that he kyng shalbe (gold)

I bryng rekyls, the sothe to say
In tokyn that he God veray,
Withouten ende.

In tokyn that he shalbe ded,
This myrr I bryng. (f).

also from the liturgy.

In the Nuncius scene and the interview with Herod, the dialogue of the liturgical plays is the basis, standing out very prominently from the rest. The doctors are then summoned and bring the answer:

Certys, sir, lo, here fynd I
well wretyn in a prophecy,
how that profett Isay

Micheas the profett, withouten nay,
How that he tellys I shalle you say,
In Bedlem, land of Juda

Leaving Jerusalem, the kings again behold the star:

Behold yon starne has made shynyng,
Syr, securly (Ecce stella). (s).

They make their offering:

In tokyn that thou art oure kyng
And shalbe ay,
Resayf this gold to myn offeryng

ffor thou art godis son most of myght,
And all weldand,
I bryng the rekyls, as is right

In tokyn that thou dede shalbe
By kyndly skylly,
To thy grauyng this myr of me (f).

They reccive the angel's warning:

By other weys god wyll ye weynd,
Into youre awne cuntre (q),

and act accordingly.

In the Fugacio Iosep & Marie in egiptum (XV) the angel's message, "Awake Ioseph and take intent" (Surge, Joseph) (a') and the command to go to Egypt, is followed by a long dialogue regarding the message and its cause.

In the Magnus Herodes (XVI) the expanded play still shows the liturgical structure, with a second consultation of the doctors. The liturgical element is prominent especially in the one case where Herod exclaims:

A hundreth thowsand I watt and fourty ar slayn,
And four thowsand ,

which is certainly based on the source Centum quadraginta quattuor millia, qui empti sunt de terris (Resp. in tertio nocturno, Festum Innocentium). (f').

In the York Plays the Coming of the Three Kings to Herod (XVI) consists principally of the boasting of Herod. In the next play, which is

merely a continuation of XVI, including the Adoration, the sequence of scenes agrees with that of the liturgical plays. The information from the Scriptures is supplied by the Magi themselves. Herod speeds them on their way to Bethlehem.

Wendis furth, youre forward to fulfill, To Bedlem, it is but here at hande,

(Ite et de puero diligenter investigate). (n). The Quem quaeritis incident seems to have been the source of the following part:

Ancilla: Whame seke 3e syrs, be wayes wilde,
 With talkyng, trauelyng to and froo?
ii Rex: We seke a barne pat all shall bylde
Ancilla: Come nere, gud syrs, and see,
 Your way to ende is broght

Liturgical influence is certainly present in the oblation:

Hayllt clene pat is comen of a kynges kynde,
 And shall be kyng of his kyth, all clergy has kende.

With golde pat is grettest of price
 Be paid of his present, I pray the.

In pat gude thurgh grace of thy godhede,
 Als be gleme in be glasse gladly bow glade
 In-sens to bi seruis is semand

And sen thy body beryed shalbe,
 This mirre will I giffe to bi grauynge. (f).

The warning of the angel:

"And turne be-tyme or 3e be tenyd," (q).

followed by the departure of the Magi, closes the play.

In the Flight into Egypt (XVIII) the angel warns Joseph: "Wakyn, Joseph, and take entente" (a'), and bids him go to Egypt with Mary and the child. The preparation for the flight and its beginning is carried in dialogue.

In the Massacre of the Innocents (XIX) the structure is that of the liturgical plays. Otherwise there are no liturgical tags that would show definite connection.

The following conclusions are offered in regard to the Magi and Rachel plays: The Latin plays had their inception in the liturgy and their first material from it; there was a good deal of original composition, even in the Latin plays, always, however, with the background of the liturgical structure; in most of the vernacular and cycle plays, not only the structure of the liturgical plays was retained, but also a good deal of additional subject-matter was taken from liturgical plays and from the liturgy itself.

THE PLAY OF THE PURIFICATION OR THE PRESENTATION

List of Texts Examined

Von der Beschaffung diser Welt.
Egerer Spiel.
Towneley Mysteries, XVII.
York Plays, XLI.
Coventry Mysteries, XVIII.
Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry.
Chester Plays, XI.

The Play of the Purification has offered some difficulties to investigators in the past, a circumstance due partly to the fact that there are some isolated plays of that name and entries regarding a play of that kind. In this brief discussion, I shall follow the same method that has been applied in the examination of the other plays.

The Feast of the Purification of Mary occurs on the second of February, forty days after Christmas. The responses given by Gueranger¹⁵⁷ are those of the Liber Responsalis Gregorii Magni.¹⁵⁸ The ones that occur in sequence and carry the story of the day are those Ad Invitorium, In secundo Nocturno, In matutinis Laudibus:

Vs: Responsum accepit Symeon a Spiritu Sancto

Resp: Non visurum se mortem nisi videret Christum domini.

Ant: Senex puerum portabat, Puer autem senem regebat: quem Virgo peperit
et post partum virgo permansit: ipsum quem genuit adoravit.

The Canticle of Simeon.

Ant: Responsum accepit Simeon a Spiritu Sancto non visurum se mortem, nisi
videret Christum domini; et cum inducerent Puerum in Templum, accepit eum in ulnas suas, et benedixit eum, et dixit: Nunc dimittis . . .

The following points are prominent in the liturgy of the day:

- (a) Simeon's earnest expectation of the Savior
- (b) The message of the Holy Spirit to Simeon
- (c) The bringing of the sacrifice by Joseph and Mary
- (d) Simeon receiving the child into his arms
- (e) The adoration of the child by Mary
- (f) The Nunc dimittis

The entire story of the Presentation and Purification is carried in the antiphons and responses of the Feast of the Purification according to the Sarum Breviary, and there are lectiones taken from Augustine, Ambrose, and Bede, which give a complete exposition of the story in all its parts.

¹⁵⁷ *The Liturgical Year*, 2:520.

¹⁵⁸ *Migne, Patrologia latina*, 78:745.

With so much material present in the liturgy, it is not surprising that we find historical entries pointing to the existence of an independent play on the Feast of the Purification. Creizenach writes:¹⁰⁰ "In der Pariser Handschrift Bibliothéque nat. fond. lat. 17330 Fol. 18 findet sich ein merkwürdiges, aber völlig vereinzelttes Beispiel, dasz auch Marias Darstellung im Tempel bei Gelegenheit einer Prozession zur Aufführung kam." This may, however, refer to a Presentation of Mary, which we shall discuss below. In the references to plays and pageants in the Burgh Records of Aberdeen, Scotland¹⁰¹ there are the following entries:

"Sept. 5, 1442. Thir craftes vndirwriten sal find yerly in the offerand of our Lady at Candilmas thir personnes vnderwriten"

Feb. 1, 1484/5. Order for all craftsmen 'to beyr thare takyinis of thare craft apon thare beristis, and thare best array on Candilmas day at the Offerand.'

Jan. 30, 1505/6. Order for continuance of 'the old lovable consuetud and ryt of the burgh,' that the craftsmen 'kep it and decorit the procesion one Candilmes day yerlie'"

It is evident from these and the succeeding records that there were plays in connection with this procession and that two of these plays were the Three Kings of Cologne (Herod and Magi) and the Purification and Presentation. Chambers says:¹⁰² "The Passion (Haliblude play) was performed, perhaps only occasionally, on Corpus Christi day; the Nativity annually, at Candlemas. The 'persones' of 1442 and the 'Pageants' of 1505/6 are practically identical, and would furnish a short play, with Moses and Octavian to represent the Prophetæ, a Stella, and a Presentation in the Temple." In Smith, *English Gilds*, pages 149 and 150¹⁰³ there is a record of the Guild of St. Mary of Beverley, 1355, in which it is stated that "every year, on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, all the bretheren and sisteren shall meet together in a fit and appointed place, away from the church; and there, one of the gild shall be clad in comely fashion as a queen, like to the glorious Virgin Mary, having what may seem a son in her arms; and two others shall be clad like to Joseph and Simeon; and two shall go as angels, carrying a candle-bearer, on which shall be twenty-four thick wax lights. With these, and other great lights borne before them, and with much music and gladness, the pageant Virgin with her son, and Joseph and Simeon, shall go in procession to the church. And all the sisteren of the gild shall follow the Virgin; and afterwards all the bretheren; and each of them shall carry a wax light weighing half a pound. And they shall go two and two, slowly pacing to the church;

¹⁰⁰ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 169, note 1.

¹⁰¹ Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2:330.

¹⁰² 2:333.

¹⁰³ Cf. Spencer, *Corpus Christi Pageants in England*, 70.

and when they have got there, the pageant Virgin shall offer her son to Simeon at the high altar; and all the sisteren and bretheren shall offer their wax lights, together with a penny each. All this having been solemnly done, they shall go home again with gladness."¹⁶³

In the Digby Plays¹⁶⁴ the situation seems to have been much like that of Aberdeen as regards date of presentation, for the superscription reads: "Candlemas day & the kyllynge of the children of Israell, anno domini 1512." The Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry contains a separate play of the Presentation, in which the regular Christmas material was introductory. In the York Plays, as in the other cycles, the Purification of Mary occupies a position chronologically impossible. The play was to be given, according to a note (page 433) between the Herod and the Flight into Egypt. Miss Smith says of the manuscript: "The play is written on the blank leaves at the end of quire xxix The words 'explicit liber' at the end seem to show that this was the concluding piece in a book from which it was copied" (page 433, note). The evidence presented here seems to point quite definitely to an independent origin and growth of this play.

Vernacular Purification Plays

This evidence is strengthened by an examination of some of the plays of the Presentation in the vernacular. There is a Presentation scene both in the poem *Von der Beschaffung diser Welt*,¹⁶⁵ and in the *Egerer Spiel*.¹⁶⁶ Unfortunately, the text of the incident in the latter play is not accessible and an examination therefore impossible. In the Towneley Mysteries this play is fragmentary, a part of the manuscript having been lost. In the York Plays, the Purification of Mary: Simeon and Anna Prophecy (XLI) has the following scenes and principal parts:

- The temple at Jerusalem with Anna, the prophetess
- (a) Simeon's longing for the Savior and the message of the angel
- Mary and Joseph at Bethlehem, preparing for the purification
- (b) The bringing of the child and the offering of the sacrifice
- Simeon called by the angel
- (d) Simeon receiving the child into his arms
- (f) The Nunc dimittis

In the Coventry Mysteries the Purification (XVIII) may be divided:

¹⁶³ On the "dumb-show theory" of Gayley, Spencer, and others in this connection, see Craig, *The Corpus Christi Procession and the Corpus Christi Play*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 13: No. 4; and the present author's *Inquiry into the Origin . . . of the Corpus Christi Festival and Procession*, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1913.

¹⁶⁴ Furnivall, *Digby Plays*.

¹⁶⁵ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

¹⁶⁶ *Germania*, 3:267.

- (a) Simeon's longing for the Savior
- (b) The message of the angel
Simeon and Anna in the temple
- (c) Preparation for the purification
- (d) Simeon receives the child into his arms
- (f) The Nunc dimittis:
"Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, et caetera. The psalme song ther
every vers, and ther qwyle Symeon pleyeth with the child, and qwhan the
psalme is endyd, he seyth"
- (c) The bringing of the sacrifice

In the Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry¹⁶⁷ the following principal divisions appear:

- (a) Simeon's longing for the Savior
Anna's hope in the Savior's coming
- (b) The message of the angel to Simeon
- (c) Preparation for the purification
Mary adoring the child
Simeon called by the angel, Anna also comes
The presentation
- (d) Simeon receives the child into his arms
- (f) The Nunc dimittis

A folio of the manuscript is missing

In the Chester Plays, there are the following scenes:

- Simeon and Anna in the temple
- (b) The message of the angel
- (c) Joseph and Mary prepare for the presentation
The offering of the doves
- (d) Simeon welcomes the Savior
- (f) The Nunc dimittis

In the Digby Plays virtually the same divisions are observed as in the complete cycles:

- (a) Simeon at Jerusalem, longing for the Savior
- (c) The preparation for the presentation
The offering of the sacrifice
- (d) Simeon takes the child in his arms
- (f) The Nunc dimittis
Simeon's prophecy concerning the Christ-child

Position of the Play in the Cycles

Beside the structure of the play, its position in the cycles should be noted with special care. In Luke 2, the story of the Presentation follows immediately after that of the Nativity. But in the cycles, the position of the play is one that can not be reconciled with chronological sequence. In the poem, *Von der Beschaffung diser Welt*, it is located between

¹⁶⁷ Craig, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*.

the Three Kings and Herod and the Slaughter, in the Egerer Spiel between the Adoration of the Magi and the Flight into Egypt. In other German cycles the Presentation is wanting entirely. In the Digby Plays it follows the Slaughter. In the Towneley Mysteries it is situated between the Magnus Herodes and the Pagina Doctorum, in the Ludus Coventriae between the Adoration of the Magi and the Slaughter of the Innocents, in the Chester Plays after the Slaughter at the very end of the Nativity series. In the York Plays, as noted above, the Purification also has a wrong position. Now in view of the fact that the Purification Play mentions the forty days after the Nativity, at the end of which time the presentation should be made, and that the Herod plays mention two and even three years as the time it took the Magi to come from the East, this peculiar position of the play in the various cycles serves to confirm the evidence for the liturgical origin and separate growth of the play. It probably grew out of the liturgy of Candlemas Day, becoming, in some cases, an extended play with introductory scenes from the nativity, in other cases, however, being added to existing cycles, where an approximate position was chosen for it. The Purification Play is therefore an example of the principle of isolated growth, with subsequent addition to a cycle play. And while the idea that the Purification Play is the outgrowth of the Simeon incident in the Prophetæ may have been entertained, it must be said, in reference to such an excrescence, that it may have been possible, but is hardly probable in view of the complete liturgy of the festival day concerned. It is unlikely even that the suggestion for such a play was received from the Prophetæ. And while it is true that the evidence in support of the liturgical connection of the Purification Play is largely of a circumstantial nature, it is equally true that this evidence almost compels admission of the allegation in this case, where the argument receives additional strength on account of the obvious dependence of the earliest dramas upon liturgical structure.

The following conclusions are offered in regard to the Purification Play: In most cases, if not in all, the Purification Play grew up alone, in connection with the festival of the same name (Candlemas), with material from the liturgy, shown both in the structure and in liturgical tags; in some cases (Aberdeen, Digby) the play may have grown up together with the Magi on Candlemas Day, and even become the nucleus for a cyclical presentation; the long isolation of the play and its late addition to the cycle plays in general is attested to by its position, which is invariably impossible according to chronological sequence.

THE PLAY OF CHRIST AND THE DOCTORS

List of Texts Examined

Italian play for Dom. post Epiph.
Von der Beschaffung diser Welt.
Egerer Spiel.
Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry.
York Cycle, XX.
Towneley Mysteries, XVIII.
Chester Plays, XI.
Ludus Coventriae, XX.

The evidence for the assumption of liturgical influence in the case of this play is even more circumstantial than in that of the preceding one. And yet, the evidence is of such a nature that definite conclusions seem fully warranted.

So far as the liturgy is concerned, this story is included within the nativity cycle, being the Gospel for the Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany. The most prominent scene of the story is also carried in the responses for that day:

- (a) *Ant:* Fili, quid fecisti nobis sic? ego et pater tuus dolentes quaerebamus te.
- (b) Quid est quod me quaerebatis? nesciebatis quia in his quae Patris mei sunt, oportet me esse?
- (c) *Ant:* Puer Jesus proficiebat aetate et sapientia coram Deo et hominibus.

This story apparently never received the same attention as the other stories of the Nativity cycle. There are no English or German texts extant which treat of this incident alone, nor is there any evidence that it existed alone in these languages, unless the entry at Leicester, 1499: "Paid for a play in the church, in Dominica infra Octavam Epiphaniae, iij s," refers to such a play.¹⁰⁸ It is significant in this connection, however, that an Italian play which D'Ancona prints has the heading: Dom. post Epiphan., and treats of this story:

- (a) *Maria:* O car dolce mio figlio,
Da me se nato mo' si poverello!

On the other hand, there seems to be sufficient material for the assumption that, at the time of the formation of cycles, and especially at the time of the final recasting and revision, the suggestion for this play at least was found in the liturgy. It served to round out the nativity series in the cycle plays, just as it practically closes the Christmas festival in the liturgy. It serves to make the Christmas series a unit.

¹⁰⁸ Chambers, 2 376.

It may be noted here that in many cases the Christmas cycle in the liturgy ended with the Dom. I post Epiph. in the service books, which would explain both the general presence of the play as also the absence of other Epiphany subjects (Cf. *Processionale ad usum Sarum*).

So far as the play itself is concerned, its text is found in the poem patterned after the liturgy, *Von der Beschaffung diser Welt*.¹⁶⁹ It is also found in the *Egerer Spiel*¹⁷⁰ after the Return to Nazareth, and in the *Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel* of Maastricht.¹⁷¹

In the English field, the play occurs in the Pageant of the Weavers of Coventry, in the York cycle (XX), in the Towneley Mysteries (XVIII), in the Chester Whitsun Plays (XI), and in the *Ludus Coventriae* (XX). The relation between these various plays and their probable interdependence is shown by Professor Craig.¹⁷² After quoting the opinions of previous investigators, Ten Brink, Hohlfeld, Davidson, and Pollard, the author makes a very extended comparison and finally states the following as his conclusions: "In light of the whole matter, therefore, it seems probable that some Northumbrian nucleus of craft or church plays was in possession of this Doctors' Play, and since the subject was unusually attractive, the play spread to the south and west. On its way to Coventry it perhaps fell under the influence of T, or under influence which also affected T. This was probably also the case in its journey to Chester; but there is no reason whatever to think that the Play of the Doctors passed from Coventry to Chester or that Ch and WCo in any way interdepend." (page xxxiv.)

Whether or not the extant cycle plays concerning us here were patterned after one model, is of interest only inasmuch as a transitional play of the Doctors, similar to those of the Shrewsbury Fragments, may have influenced them all to some extent, as Professor Craig shows in his comparison. The fact, however, that liturgical influence of the Prophetiae is so evident in the Pageant of the Weavers would in itself lead one to suppose that the entire play was modeled after the liturgy or some liturgical play, probably in a series. Moreover, the speech of one of the doctors: *Ex ore infancium et lactancium perfecisti laudem* has the appearance of a liturgical tag. The interview between Jesus and his mother is very close to the Latin:

Mare: Al Jesus, Jesus, my sun soo swete,
Thy gooyng froo me soo suddenly
Hathe cawsid vs bothe for to wepe
With byttur teyris abundantly.

¹⁶⁹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

¹⁷⁰ *Germania*, 3:267.

¹⁷¹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:302.

¹⁷² *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, xxviii.

Thyn olde fathur here and I
 For thy sake, sun, hath lykyd full yll.
 Owre yis the were but seldum dry,
 But now thatt we ar cum the tyll (a).
Jesus: Modur, why did you seek me soo?
 Hyt hathe byn ofte seyde vnto you,
 My Fathurs wyll i mvst fullfyll,
 In eyuere pwynt, for well or woo. (b).

In the *Ludus Coventriae* the corresponding passage reads.

Marie: At dere childe, dere childe! why hast thou thus done?
 For the we have had grett sorwe and care;
 Thy fadyr and I thre days have gone,
 Wyde the to seke of blysse ful bare. (a).
Jhesus: Why have 3e sought me with hevvy fare?
 Wete 3e not wele that I muste bene
 Amonge hem that is my faderes ware,
 His gostly catel for to ovyrse? (b).

The *Towneley* and *York* cycles are in large measure identical in this play. The former has the Latin version: *Ex ore infancium . . .*, the latter an English translation:

For Dauid denys of ilka dele,
 And sais þus of childir zing,
 And of ther mouthes, he wate full wele,
 Oure lord has performed loving.

The interview in *Towneley* and *York* reads:

Mar: At dere sone Jesus! Sen we loue the allone,
 Why dosse þou þus till vs, And gares vs make swilke mone?
 Thy fadir and I be-twyxte vs twa
 Son for thy loue has likid ill,
 We haue þe sought both to & froo,
 Wepand full sore as wightis will. (a).
Jesus: Wherto shulde 3e scke me soo?
 Ofte tymes it hase ben tolde you till,
 My fadir werkis, for wele or woo,
 Thus am I sente for to fulfyll. (b).

The reading of the *Chester* Plays is much like this, also.

The following conclusions are offered in regard to this play: Liturgical tags and structure point to liturgical suggestion, if not liturgical origin; the addition of the play to the nativity series was for the purpose of rounding out the Christmas cycle, after the pattern of the liturgy; the evidence of a common model for the English plays suggests a pattern on the order of the *Shrewsbury* fragments.

THE OLD TESTAMENT PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Maastricht.

Egerer Spiel.

Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.

Le Mistere du Viel Testament.

Non-Cycle Mystery Plays.

Cornish Plays.

York Plays, I-XI.

Towneley Mysteries, I-VI, VIII.

Chester Plays, I-IV.

Ludus Coventriae, I-VI.

In the discussion of the Prophetæ, reference was made to M. Sepet's theory, "that the plays on Old Testament subjects made their appearance in connection with the various prophets of the Processus Prophetarum until there arose the whole series of Old Testament Plays from the Fall of Lucifer to the Nativity of Christ."¹⁷³ Weber, Chambers, Creizenach, Hemingway, as noted above, Rothschild,¹⁷⁴ and others have accepted this theory without question and even elaborated it.

This theory, however, did not seem to be adequate to Professor Craig, who, in an article, "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays,"¹⁷⁵ offers material in support of another theory, namely, "that the Old Testament plays, particularly those derived from the Book of Genesis and those relating to the Fall of Lucifer and the angels, in other words, the stock plays of the English cycles and of the popularly developed Continental cycles, did not originate from the Processus Prophetarum, but from the addition to the Passion Play of a body of epical and homiletic material derived, in the first instance, from the lectiones and accompanying ritual of the church." Whether it will be necessary to modify or to extend Doctor Craig's theory, will appear from the discussion.

Certain it is, that even a very cursory comparison of liturgical and cyclical structure tends to make the new theory plausible. In the great number of developed cycles there is a restricted number of subjects from the Old Testament, and usually practically the same subjects, namely the Creation and the Fall of Lucifer, Adam and Eve and the Fall of Man, Cain and Abel, Noah, Abraham and Isaac, and sometimes Moses and the

¹⁷³ Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2:52-59. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 61.

¹⁷⁴ *Le Mistere du Viel Testament*, iii.

¹⁷⁵ *Modern Philology*, 10:473.

Exodus. In the liturgy of the Lenten season, we have the same subjects. From the earliest times the Heptateuch had been ordered read during the time before Easter. In a Codex of St. Blasius of the eighth century the passage reads: "In Sexagesima usque in hebdomadam majorem legitur Eptadicum."¹⁷⁶ Other codices have Septuagesima instead of Sexagesima. In the *Romani Ordines*¹⁷⁷ is contained the following paragraph: "Dominicae Sexagesimae legitur de Noe, in Quinquagesima de Abraham, in Quadragesima de sermonibus, in tertia Dominica de Jacob et Esau, in quarta de Joseph, in quinta de Moyse." In the *Liber Responsalis* of Gregory the Great¹⁷⁸ the Responsoria in Sexagesimam carry the following Bible narratives:

The creation of the world
 The creation of man (Adam)
 The planting of paradise
 The creation of Eve
 The prohibition of the fruit in the middle of the garden
 The fall
 The punishment

 The inquiry in regard to Abel's death
 The curse of Cain

The Responsoria in Quinquagesimam give the following incidents.

The building of the ark
 The flood
 The saving of Noah and his family
 The fixing of the rainbow
 Noah builds an altar
 The Lord blesses Noah

 Responsoria de Abraham
 The command to leave his native country
 The promise of blessing
 The visit at Mamre
 The promise of a son
 The command to sacrifice the son
 The command to stop the sacrifice
 The repetition of the blessing
 The marriage of Isaac

The Responsoria in hebdomada secunda in Quadragesima carry the following narrative:

Isaac's preparation for the blessing
 The blessing of Jacob
 The blessing of Esau
 Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia

¹⁷⁶ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 146.

¹⁷⁷ Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 78 1037. Cf. Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*.

¹⁷⁸ Migne, 78-748.

The dream and vow at Bethel
 The wrestling at the ford Jabbok
 The return of Jacob to Canaan

The Responsoria de Joseph, hebdomada tertia in Quadragesima, will be discussed below. The Responsoria in hebdomada quarta in Quadragesima carry the story of Moses and the Exodus:

The command given to Moses to demand the release of the Israelites from Pharaoh
 Moses before Pharaoh
 The drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea
 Moses on the mountain, Sinai
 Moses returning "portans duas tabulas lapideas"
 The last commands of Moses
 Responsoria de Josue
 The promise of God to be with Joshua as he had been with Moses

This part of the church year is plainly divisible into three parts (*Cf.* Gueranger): the Septuagesimal part or pre-Lenten season, the Quadragesimal part or mid-Lenten season, and the Lenten season proper, beginning with Dom. in Passione. And the responses for the season, with which we are here concerned, the Septuagesimal and Quadragesimal parts of the Lenten season, are taken principally from Genesis and Exodus, though a few of them were gleaned from the historical psalms of praise. It should always be remembered also that the Scripture lessons read during this time contained the full account of the stories carried in the responses, and that the homiletic lectiones brought expositions of the stories, often with detailed account. The same order of the presentation of stories obtained quite generally in Breviaries in England, as well as on the Continent, as is evident from the Sarum Breviary, and from those of York and Hereford. The only difference seems to be in this: that the responses for Sexagesima have been augmented and taken into the previous week, so that the story of the Creation and Fall, and Cain and Abel belong to the week of Septuagesima, and all the other stories have accordingly been set forward, and that now and then slight additions have been made, e.g. Abraham and Melchisedek, the Fall of Sodom, and others. Professor Craig found the incident of Lamech in the Breviarium Coloniense. There is a decided tendency toward amplification, the subject material being the very extensive lectiones of this season.

General Comparison between Liturgy and Cycles

If we now compare the list of the Old Testament plays in the cycles and elsewhere with the list of these very extended liturgical narratives, the great similarity is immediately apparent, as noted above. In the York Plays there are the following Old Testament subjects: Creation, Fall of Lucifer, Adam and Eve, The Garden of Eden, Man's Disobedience,

Fall, and Punishment, Cain and Abel, The Building of the Ark, Noah and His Wife, the Flood, Abraham and His Sacrifice, Departure of the Israelites from Egypt, the Ten Plagues, and the Passage of the Red Sea.

The subjects of the lost Beverley cycle agree with those of York. In the Towneley Mysteries we have: *Creatio*, *Mactatio Abel*, *Processus Noe cum Filiis*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and a *Pharao* after the *Processus Prophetarum*. The significance of this position will be discussed below.

In the *Ludus Coventriae*, the first plays are: *Creation*, *Fall of Man*, *Cain and Abel*, *Noah's Flood*, *Abraham's Sacrifice*, *Moses and the Two Tables*. In the *Chester Plays* there are only *The Fall of Lucifer*, *Creation and Fall*, and *Death of Abel*, *Noah's Flood*, *Histories of Lot and Abraham*. In the ancient *Cornish Drama*, the following incidents are prominent: *The Creation*, *Lucifer*, *Adam and Eve*, the *Fall and Expulsion from Eden*, *Cain and Abel*, *Seth*, *Noah and the Ark*, *Abraham and the Sacrifice*, *Moses and Pharao* and the *Passage of the Red Sea*, *David*, *Solomon*. Then there are the single plays: *Creation of Eve and the Fall*, of *Norwich*; *Noah's Ark*, of *New-Castle-on-Tyne*; the *Brome Abraham and Isaac*, and the *Dublin Abraham and Isaac*. This list may be greatly amplified by a consultation of the Appendices offered by Chambers, in volume 2.

In the German field, there is the *Mastricht Play*¹⁷⁹ with the *Creation of Heaven and Earth* and the *Angels*, the *Fall of Lucifer*, the *Creation of the World*, and the *Fall of Man*. In the *Egerer Spiel*¹⁸⁰ we have the *Creation of the World*, *Lucifer's Fall*, *Creation of Adam*, *Temptation and Fall*, *Cain and Abel*, *Lamech*, *Noah and the Flood*, *Abraham and Isaac*, *Moses* (and the *filiis Israel*), *Exodus*, *Giving of the Law*, *David and Goliath*, *Solomon*. In the *Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel*¹⁸¹ the following plays appear: *Creation*, *Fall of Lucifer*, *Creation of Adam and Eve*, the *Temptation and Fall*, *Cain and Abel*, *Noah and the Flood*, *Abraham and Isaac* and the *Sacrifice*, *Moses and Aaron*, *David and Goliath*, *Solomon*. The very fact that there is such an agreement in the subjects and in the sequence of plays in the cycles argues for a common well-known source.

Now so far as the actual connection of these Old Testament plays with the liturgy is concerned, Doctor Craig has shown that the liturgical evidence in the *Ordo representationis Adae* is very strong, to say the least.¹⁸² It can hardly be argued that the agreement of the liturgical tags in the Norman-French play with the responses of the liturgy is that of a chance identity. The very probable evidence of the *Isaac and Rebecca* of the *Kloster Vorau* in *Styria* can be supplemented by the fact that the liturgical tags in the *Egerer Spiel* (*Temptation and Fall*), where the Chorus

¹⁷⁹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2 302.

¹⁸⁰ *Germania*, 3:267.

¹⁸¹ *Germania*, 4 338.

¹⁸² *Origin of the Old Testament Plays*, 481.

sings: Cum deambulet Dominus agrees exactly with a response of the Liber responsalis in the Creation series. It is also most likely that the Ego sum alpha et omega, introducing the play of the Creation, was taken over from, or at least suggested by, a Chorus of the Great Sabbath, where the Creation was narrated in the liturgy.¹⁸³

Ordo Joseph

The best means, perhaps, of showing the direct connection between the Old Testament plays and the liturgy is offered by the Joseph Play, recently published by Doctor Young,¹⁸⁴ of which he says that it probably has some connection with the liturgy of the third Quadragesimal Sunday. The play is unfortunately not complete. It is in rhyme and includes the time from the sending of Joseph to Schechem to the first return of the sons of Jacob from Egypt and the conversation about the necessity of sending Benjamin down to Egypt. The sequence of incidents in the *play* is the following:

Jacob calls Joseph and sends him to find his brethren.

The brethren seeing him: Ecce venit somniator Occidamus

Reuben intercedes: Non est bonum ut fratrum effundamus sanguinem

They place Joseph in the pit.

The coming of the Ishmaelites: Mercatores Hismaelis veniunt

Judas gets Joseph from the pit and sells him: Vos bis denos Mihi nummos

The sale is made, the coat of many colors is taken off.

Reuben, who has been absent, finds the pit empty: Quaerens non invenio

The brethren send Joseph's coat to Jacob: Vide vestis An sit ista Joseph tui

Jacob recognizes the coat: Te crudelis devoravit Et insana bestia

The sons try to console him, but in vain

Joseph's trouble with Potiphar's wife. Joseph non concedit consilio, quo nolente discedere, illa clamidem rapit.

The liberation of the butler after the revelation of his dream by Joseph.

Joseph set free and made ruler.

Threatened by famine, the brethren persuade Jacob to let them go to Egypt to buy food.

The brethren before Joseph: Scire volo que sit vobis veniendi ratio

The silver put into the sacks, the brethren overtaken and brought back: Furti quidem conscii

One held captive, the others journey home. Merito gravissimam Patimur iniuriam Talis retributio est pro Fratre

They come to Jacob, relate their experiences, insist upon the necessity of Benjamin's returning with them. Judas goes bond for Benjamin.

The sequence of incidents in the *liturgy* is as follows:

¹⁸³ *Romans Ordines*, Migne, 78:1014, 1078.

¹⁸⁴ *Modern Language Notes*, 26, February. This is correct, as a note by Rothschild in the introduction to the Joseph episodes of the Viel Testament shows.

Joseph sent by his father. Videntes Joseph . . . frates dicentes: Ecce somniator venit . . .

Joseph in the pit.

The passing of the Ishmaelites. Dixit Judas fratribus suis: Ecce Ismaelitae transeunt; venite, venundetur . . .

Extrahentes Joseph de lacu vendiderunt Ishmaelitis viginti argenteis . . .

Cumque abiisset Ruben ad puteum et non invenisset eum . . .

The bloody coat sent to Jacob. At illi intincta tunica Joseph sanguine . . .
Vide si tunica filii tui sit, an non . . .

Jacob recognizes the coat. Fera pessima devoravit . . .

The children try to comfort him, but he repeats his lament . . .

Joseph a servant in Egypt.

The liberation of the butler.

The brethren come to buy food.

The remorse of the brethren: Merito haec patimur, quia peccavimus in fratrem . . .

In the Sarum Breviary, the lectiones of the Dominica tell part of the story, and the remainder is found in the ferial lectiones for the week of the third Sunday in Quadragesima. There are also Lectiones de sermone beati Johannis episcopi, treating of the entire life of Joseph, including the incident in the house of Potiphar. The Play of Joseph and his Brethren is therefore clearly based on the liturgy.

Mistere du Viel Testament

That the liturgy gave the suggestion and at least furnished the outline for the Old Testament plays, is noticeable even in the French "*Mistere du Viel Testament*," although this was a composite work based upon the popularly developed cycles and very much expanded in the form in which it has been published.¹⁰³ The cycle includes the stock plays, such as *La Creacion des Anges*, *Le Trebuchement de Lucifer*, *La Creacion du Soleil et de la Lune*, *des Etoilles*, *Bestes*, *Oyseaulx*, *de Paradis*, *Terrestre*, *La Creacion d'Adam et d'Eve*, *La Transgression d'Adam et d'Eve*, *Du Proces de Paradis*, *Des Sacrifices Cayn et Abel*, *De la Mort d'Abel et de la Malediction Cayn*, *Du Deluge*, *Abraham*, *Du Sacrifice d'Abraham*, *Comment Eliezer demanda Rebecque*, *La Benedictione a Jacob*, *Jacob et Esaü*, *De Joseph et son Freres*, etc. In the *La Creacion des Anges* a hymn is introduced: *Tunc simul cantent angeli*:

O lux beata, Trinitas,
Et principalis unitas,
Jam sol recedit igneus;
Infunde lumen cordibus."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Cf. Craig, *Origin of the Old Testament Plays*, 478, and references.

¹⁰⁴ Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, 1:36; 4:47, 48.

In the *La Creacion d'Adam et d'Eve*, the passage,

Icy sera par providence
 Forme de terre et de lymon . . . , and
 Homme, qui es par bonne entente
 Forme de terre et de lymon . . . ,

reminds one rather strongly of the *Formavit igitur Dominus hominem de limo terrae*, a response in *Sexagesimam*.

After the creation of Eve, "Adam, faisant admiration en regardant Eve
 'Hoc nunc os de ossibus meis et caro de carne mea

Sera appelee virago,
 Pour ce que je l'ay apperceue,
 Quia sumpta est de viro . . . ,"

which agrees with the response of the Creation series: *Et vocavit eam virago, quia de viro sumpta est. Vs: Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea.* At the end of the play, "Tunc cantant angeli simul

Summe Deus clemencie,
 Mundique factor machine,
 Unus potencialiter,
 Trinusque personaliter."¹⁸⁷

In the play *De la Mort d'Abel et de la Maledictione Cayn* occurs the passage

Dieu parlant a Cayn
 Cayn, Cayn, pecheur indigne,
 D'ouyr ma voix, ou est ton frere
 Abel: Qu'esce qu'en viens de faire?
 Dy le moy tost, il le fault dire:
 Ou est Abel?

Cayn: Je ne scay, sire.

Dieu: Haa! menteur, des pires le pire,
 Veulx tu denyer ceste guerre?
 Le sang qui en est sur la terre
 A crye vers moy a ouissance,
 Demandant contre toy vengeance,
 D'avoir commis ce fraticide.

This passage recalls very strongly the liturgy: *Ubi est Abel frater tuus? Nescio, Domine. Quid fecisti? Ecce vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra* Remembering the fact that in the *Representatio Adae* these passages are the very ones where the liturgical origin was shown so plainly,¹⁸⁸ the evidence carries all the more weight.

In the incident *Comment Eliezer demanda Rebecque*, the prayer of Eliezer (II,88) agrees almost word for word with the prayer as contained in the liturgy, *Responsoria in Quinquagesimam, De Abraham*.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Cf. note by Rothschild, 1:40; and Daniel, 1:34; 4:38.

¹⁸⁸ Craig, 483.

¹⁸⁹ Migne, 78.750.

English Old Testament Plays

Turning now to the English field for a more exact comparison, we find that even in the developed mystery plays the evidence of liturgical influence is not wanting. The York Creation and the Fall of Lucifer (I) begins with the *Ego sum Alpha et O*, which was mentioned above. The *Te Deum* and the *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth*, though very general in character, are inserted at a place where the angels praise God for the creation, and a liturgical play of the Creation, either in the Latin or in the vernacular, would undoubtedly have included one of these stock hymns at this point. The sequence of incidents in the remaining plays of this series is the same as in the liturgy, with the one exception that the creation of Eve is not treated separately.

In the Towneley cycle the Creation play also opens with *Ego sum alpha et O*. It contains a separate creation of Eve, but is unfortunately fragmentary, a circumstance due to the loss of twelve leaves in the manuscript.

In the Chester Plays, both the Fall of Lucifer and the Creation and Fall begin with *Ego sum alpha et O*. As a song of praise the angels have in this case *Dignus Dei*. The creation of Eve is a separate incident, and the words of Adam on that occasion are:

Therefore shee shalbe called, I wisse,
Viragoo nothinge amisse

They recall that part of the liturgy given above, in connection with the French play. The same is true of the passage,

God: Adam, Adam, wher arte thou?
Adam: Al! Lorde, I harde thy voyce nowe,
For I am naked, I make avowe,
Therefore nowe I hyde me,

which agrees with the liturgy: *Adam, ubi es? Audivi, domine, vocem tuam, et abscondi me.*

In the *Ludus Coventriae*, the opening line of the Creation is again *Ego sum Alpha et O*. The angels' song of praise is given in full: *Hic cantent angeli in caelo. Tibi omnes angeli, tibi coeli et universi potestates, Tibi cherubyn et seraphyn incessabili voce proclamant,—Sanctus! Sanctus! Sanctus! Dominus Deus Sabaoth.* The search of God for Adam in the Fall of Man is not quite so close to the Latin:

Deus: Adam, that with myn handys I made,
Where art thou now? what hast thou wrought?
Adam: Al! lord, for synne oure floures do fade,
I here thi voys, but I se the nought.

There is also a final stage direction: *Hic recedit Deus, et angelus seraph-*

icus cum gladio flammeo verberat Adam et Evam extra Paradisum. The liturgy has:

Vers: Cherubim et flammeum gladium atque versatilem ad custodiendum viam ligni vitae.

The Norwich play of the Creacion of Eve, with þe expellyng of Adam & Eve out of Paradyce opens with Ego principium Alpha et O. The creation of Eve is the first incident, and the words of Adam:

Thys creature to me ys nunc ex ossibus meis,
And virago I call hyr in thy presens

point to the liturgy. The Adam, ubi es seems to be the basis of

Adam, Adam, wher art thou thys tyde?
Byfore my presens why dost thou not apere?
I herde thy voyce, Oh Lorde, but yett I dyd me hide.

In the York Sacrificium Cayme and Abell the passage occurs:

Ang: Thowe cursyd Came, where is Abell?
Where hais thowe done thy broder dere?
Cayme: What askes thowe me that taill to tell?
For yit his keper was I never.
Ang: God hais sent the his curse downe,
Fro hevyn to hell, maldictio dei.
Cayme: Take that thy self, evyn on thy crowne,
Quia non sum custos fratris mei.

In the liturgy we have, at this point,

Resp: Ubi est Abel, frater tuus?
Nescio, Domine, numquid custos fratris mei sum ego?

In the Towneley Mactatio Abel the question, "Caym, where is thi brother abell?" is also very prominent. The same is true of the corresponding passage in the Cain and Abel of the Ludus Coventriae:

Deus: Caym, come fforthe and answer me,
Asoyle my qwestyon anon ryght,
Thy brother Abel, wher is now he?
Ha don, and answer me as tyght.
Caym: My brothers kepere ho made me?

Deus: Acursyd Caym, thou art untrewre,
And for thi dede thou xalt sore rewre,
Thi brothers blood that thou slewe,
Askyht vengeauns of thi mys.
Thu xalt be cursyd on the grounde

Compare with that the liturgy: Quid fecisti? Ecce vox sanguinis fratris tui Abel clamat ad me de terra. *Vs:* Maledicta terra in opere tuo

In the Chester Creation and Fall the death of Abel is merely a final

incident, after the pattern of the liturgy. The passage of the question of God reads:

God: Cayme, wher is thy brother Abell?
Cayme: I wotte nere, I can not tell:
 Of my brother wottes thou not well
 That I of him hade noe kepinge?
God: What haste thou donne, thou wicked man?
 Thy brothers bloode askes thee upon
 Vengeance, as faste as it can,
 From earth to me cryinge.
 Cayme, cursed on earth thou shalt be aye.

In this connection it may be mentioned that, even where the Latin cue words of the liturgy no longer appear, the prominence of these passages and their close agreement with the liturgy is significant, since speeches which are contained in the Bible story, but not in the liturgy, are not treated in the same way nor found in all plays.

In the York Building of the Ark (VIII) and Noah and his Wife, the Flood and its Waning (IX) the sequence of incidents of the liturgy is still noticeable, in spite of the high development and the introduction of comedy. Besides, the *Arcum ponam in nubibus* in the last scene points to the liturgy, *Resp: Ponam arcum meum in nubibus coeli*.

In the Towneley *Processus Noe cum filiis* this special tag is absent, but the structure otherwise agrees with the liturgy.

In the Noah's Flood of the *Ludus Coventriae*, all special liturgical marks have disappeared, leaving only a general tag at the end: *Hic decantent hoc versus, Mare vidit et fugit, Jordanis conversus est retrorsum. Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, Sed nomini tuo da gloriam (Ps. 114:4. 115:1.)*, used frequently in the liturgy and here, no doubt, in reference to the dispersion of waters. It is very likely that this passage was used as a response in the dominical or ferial services of the week of Quinquagesima.

The Chester Noah's Flood has only the building of the ark and the entry, and then a final speech of God, with the blessing and the promise of the rainbow.

In the Newcastle Noah's Ark we have only the building of the ark. Although this part contains a good deal of the subject material of the other plays, it shows no direct connection with the liturgy.

In the Abraham plays there are no special liturgical tags, but certain peculiarities of structure present evidence of liturgical influence. In the York Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac, when the angel has stopped the sacrifice and repeated the blessing of God, the marriage of Isaac to Rebecca is mentioned at once. The introduction of this subject is as abrupt as in the liturgy at the same place. In the corresponding plays of the Towneley

and Coventry cycle, the sacrifice of Isaac is the only incident. The prominent scene of the liturgy, with the staying of Abraham's hand and the reiteration of the blessing, stands out in these plays also. The same is true of the Dublin and of the Brome Abraham and Isaac play. The Chester Histories of Lot and Abraham has a Melchisedek incident at the beginning, otherwise the structure is not unlike that of the other plays. There are two significant passages at the end of the play, however, that tend to show that the Old Testament plays originally belonged to the Passion series, during Lent. The Expositor says:

This deed you see done here in this place,
An exsample of Jesu done it was,
That for to wyne mankindes grace,
Was sacrificed on the roode.

Make rombe, lordinges, and gave us waye,
And let Balacke come in and plaie,
And Balame that well can saie
To tell you of prophescie.
That Lord that died on Good Frydaie,
He save you all bouth nighte and daie!

In the Towneley Isaac (V) and Jacob (VI) plays the structure seems to argue for liturgical connection.

The plays of Moses and the Exodus have offered some difficulty, since Moses appears in the Prophetæ, in one case at least, with the tables. But the representation of Moses with two stone tables is a traditional subject in the liturgy and in expositions, and need not cause surprise in the Prophetæ. The liturgy in the Responsoria in hebdomada quarta in Quadragesima, expressly states, *Vs*: *Descendit Moyses de monte portans duas tabulas lapideas in manibus suis, scriptas utrasque digito Dei.* This versicle is included in the set on Moses. The York Departure of the Israelites from Egypt and the Towneley Pharaoh, whose peculiar position will be discussed below, are the same play. They have the sequence of episodes of the liturgy: God's command to Moses to lead Israel out of Egypt, the latter's demand of Pharaoh and the plagues, the exodus and the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea. In the Coventry Moses and the Two Tables the burning of the bush incident is drawn into the scene of the giving of the law, a fact due to influence of expository writings, which may have served as lectiones, the burning bush being a prototype of the Savior.

Sporadic Old Testament Plays

There are still several minor points to be discussed in connection with the Old Testament plays. The addition of the Fall of Lucifer is easily

explained, since the subject was fully treated in sermons on the Creation, many of which may have become regular lectiones for the week of Septuagesima Sunday by the end of the twelfth century. Expositions of the kind may be traced back to the time of Tertullian. Augustine has one, *Migne Patrologia Latina*, 40:333, and almost all the prominent ecclesiastical writers discuss Lucifer in connection with the creation.¹⁹⁰ The plays of Seth, and of David and Solomon, in the Cornish *Origo Mundi*, were probably added in consequence of the treatment of the patriarchs in the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, which the Cornwall author used extensively. The additions in the Egerer and Kunzelsauer plays, including the Lamech, represent a natural development in a cycle by the inclusion of further episodes.¹⁹¹ The same is true of the Lamech in the *Ludus Coventriae*. The absence of the Joseph play in England and Germany, a drama which was so popular in France and seems to have been found at least at Aberdeen, Scotland¹⁹² seems rather odd until it is remembered that in most cases, including Beverley, the Old Testament plays close with Abraham and the Sacrifice, the only cycle including special plays of Isaac and Jacob being that of Towneley. This may mean either that the plays grew up singly and were taken into the cycle as needed or that the Septuagesima plays were taken as a group, the regular Passion series beginning with Quadrigesimal Sunday. Since the two series, the Septuagesimal and the mid-Lenten, overlapped to some extent in the liturgy, the various authors adopted different methods of overcoming the difficulty.

As for the general relation of the Old Testament plays to the cycles, the conclusions of Professor Craig are undoubtedly correct: "In view of the obviousness and availability of the lessons of the service and of their adequacy, I should be disposed to believe that the Old Testament plays originated from the lectiones and responsoria of the period of Septuagesima and Lent. It was a time of preparation and penance, and the devotions constantly looked forward toward Easter If the Old Testament plays originated within the church itself, which in some cases at least they probably did, and at a season some weeks before Easter, then they must have been united later with the plays of Easter itself; and the whole group of Easter plays later joined with the whole group of Christmas plays to form the cycles."¹⁹³

The conclusions for the Old Testament Plays are the following: The Old Testament plays had their origin in the liturgy of Septuagesima and Lent. The subject matter of the liturgy that was afterwards used in the plays was taken both from Genesis and from Exodus. The plays may

¹⁹⁰ Cf. also Craig, 484.

¹⁹¹ See note above in regard to the Lamech episode.

¹⁹² Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2.331.

¹⁹³ Pages 484-5.

have grown up within the liturgy, as the Joseph most certainly did, while it is apparent that the plays, to a great extent, still show liturgical structure. They belonged to the Passion and therefore secondarily to the Easter series, until the time of cycle formation.

THE PASSION PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Benediktbeuern Ludus breuiter de passione.
Benediktbeuern Passion Play (Munich).
Mystere de la Resurrection du Lazare
Lazarus, by Hilarius.
Mary Magdalene Play.
Passio de Francfort.
Zerbster Prozession.
Von der Beschaffung diser Welt.
Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel of Maastricht.
Alsfelder Passionsspiel.
Egerer Spiel.
Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.
Frankfurter Dirigierrolle.
Frankfurter Passionspiel of 1493.
Sterzinger Passion.
Haller Passion.
Brixener Passion.
Passion (Mischhandschrift).
Chester Plays, XII-XVII.
Coventry Cycle, XXI-XXXIV.
Towneley Plays, XIX-XXIV.
York Plays, XXI-XXXVI.
Cornish Drama.

"The Planctus must be regarded as the starting point of a drama of the Passion," writes Chambers.¹⁸⁴ This assertion is based upon Wechsler's "Die romanischen Marienklagen." That the Planctus Mariae was not the starting point of a drama of the Passion, and that the theories of Wechsler, and also of Shönbach and Thien, in so far as they followed Wechsler, are not tenable upon closer study of the relation between the liturgy and the earliest forms of the medieval drama, we shall attempt to show in a special chapter on the Planctus. Mr. G. C. Taylor¹⁸⁵ and especially Professor Young¹⁸⁶ have opposed the theory, and the latter substitutes his surmise that "the groundwork of the Passion Plays is clearly the Gospel account," since the Great Passion, according to the four evangelists, was read on four days of the Holy Week. Certain it is that the dramatic recital of the Magna Passio became a custom at least as early

¹⁸⁴ *The Medieval Stage*, 2.40.

¹⁸⁵ The English Planctus Mariae, *Modern Philology*, 4:636, 637.

¹⁸⁶ *Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play*, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 25:309.

as 1213,¹⁹⁷ while dramatic action at the words *Velum templi scissum est*, *Obscuratus est sol*, *Partiti sunt vestimenta*, *Emisit spiritum*, and at other points of the narrative was also in vogue very early. Professor Young has also shown the close resemblance between the *Ludus brevis de passione* of Benediktbeuern and the *Passio Magna*.

The solution which seems the most probable and conforms to the dramaturgical method of the medieval age is this: that the responses and the lectiones of Holy Week and of the Lenten season offered the framework and also a good deal of the subject matter for the Passion plays; in other words, that the Passion plays grew out of the liturgy in much the same manner as the other liturgical plays, though apparently to a great extent during the transitional stage and with greater rapidity. The quicker development of the Passion series is due perhaps to two causes. In the first place, the liturgy contains a double cycle which could hardly escape the author and demanded extended treatment. And then, liturgical plays were no longer a novelty, having been developed to some extent for almost two centuries. For the first recorded Passion play is that of Siena, in Italy, of about 1200, which was followed, in 1244, by the play of the Passion and Resurrection, of Padua.¹⁹⁸

In order to keep the cyclical idea in mind, we shall discuss first the true Passion Plays, or those of the *Passio Magna*, with which the series undoubtedly originated, and then the preparatory Passion plays, or Ministry Plays. The latter also bridge the gap between the Christmas series and the true Passion plays, and thus connect them with the Easter series.

The responses for Holy Week carry the narrative of the *Passio Magna*. The following incidents are told in the Responsoria from Palm Sunday to the Great Sabbath, according to the *Liber responsalis* of Gregory the Great.¹⁹⁹

- The entry into Jerusalem
- The last supper (and Mary Magdalene)
- The conspiracy of the Jews
- The walk to Gethsemane
- The agony
- The betrayal
- Trial before Caiaphas
- Trial before Pilate
- The crucifixion
- The death and Burial

Some of these parts are carried out in a very elaborate manner, as the complete table will show. And that the liturgy did not change greatly for the services of Holy Week, may be seen from the *Sarum Breviary*.

¹⁹⁷ Young, 309; Chambers, 5.

¹⁹⁸ Chambers, 75

¹⁹⁹ Migne, 78:761.

according to which the responses and lectiones for this period include the following:

- (a) *The Conspiracy*
Seniores populi consilium fecerunt
- (b) *The Agony*
In monte Oliveti oravi ad patrem: Pater, si fieri potest, transeat . .
Veruntamen non sic ego volo, sed
Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem, sustinete hic
Symon, dormis? Non potuisti
Una hora non potuistis vigilare mecum
- (c) *The Betrayal*
Unus ex discipulis tradet me hodie.
Qui intingit mecum manum
Judas mercator pessimus osculo petuit Dominum; ille ut agnus
O Juda, qui dereliquisti consilium pacis et cum Judaeis consiliatus es:
triginta argenteis vendidisti sanguinem justem.
Traditor autem dedit eis signum
- (d) *Trial before Caiaphas*
Jesum tradidit impius summis principibus sacerdotum
Tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladibus et fustibus
- (e) *Trial before Pilate*
Tradiderunt me in manus impiorum
Judaei dederunt judici Pilato
Barrabas latro dimittitur et innocens Christus occiditur
- (f) *Crucifixion and Death*
Tenebrae facta sunt dum crucifixissent Jesum. Et circa horam nonam . .
Cum ergo accepisset Jesus acetum: dixit, Consummatum est.
Ait latro ad latronem: nos quidem
Posuerunt super caput eius causam
Velum templi scissum est et omnis terra tremuit
- (g) *The Burial*
Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum volventes lapidem

In this table, which will be supplemented by the complete list from the *Liber responsalis*, it is significant that the *Velum templi scissum est*, the *Tenebrae facta sunt*, and the *Emisit spiritum*, which, in the reading of the *Passio magna*, were always accompanied with dramatic action, have a prominent place in the liturgy of Good Friday. It should also be noted that some of the lectiones of Holy Week are taken from a sermon of Augustine on Psalm 63, which treats of the trial before Pilate, from one by Paul on the death, and from one by Beda Venerabilis on the burial, as the *Sarum Breviary* states.

Latin Passion Plays

A play such as the *Ludus breviter de Passione* of Benediktbeuern, which has liturgical structure and Maundy Thursday and Good Friday material, is a very natural development. If this play were simply a ren-

dering of the Gospel account in dialogue form, as has been stated, then there would be no explanation of the fact that the opening of Christ's side with the lance in this play occurs immediately after the crucifixion. The following comparison will show this peculiarity.

Ludus breviter de passione

Et baiolet sibi crucem et ducant eum ubi crucifigitur. Tunc unus ex militibus veniat, cum lancea tangat latus eius.

The liturgy.

R. Tenebrae factae sunt dum crucifixissent Jesum. Et circa horam nonam exclamavit Jesus voce magna, Deus meus, ut quid me dereliquisti? Et inclinato capite emisit spiritum, tunc unus ex militibus lancea latus eius perforavit.

In the same response both the crucifixion and the opening of the side are spoken of. And so we could compare other parts in the *Ludus*, which agree far better with the sequence of incidents and with the text of the liturgy than with the narrative of the Vulgate. The sequence of incidents in the *Ludus* is as follows:

The Preparation for the Passover

The Last Supper

Stress is here laid, just as in the liturgy, on the conversation concerning the betrayal. The first speech is: Amen, dico vobis quia unus vestrum me traditurus est in hac nocte. (Liturgy: Unus ex discipulis meis tradet me hodie.)

The next speech of Christ is: Qui intingit mecum manum in parapside (Liturgy: Qui intingit mecum manum in parapside)

The Capture in the Garden

The Trial before Pilate

The Crucifixion and Placulus

The Death and Burial

Further evidence of the liturgical element in the Passion Plays, of their development from the liturgy, with liturgical structure and liturgical material, will be given below, in the discussion of the plays in this series, in the transitional and vernacular stages. It will be best to introduce, at this point, the evidence for the liturgical element in the Ministry plays, which seem to be an early, deliberate amplification of the Passion plays for the purpose of providing the link between the Christmas and the Easter series.

The Ministry Plays

The stock plays for the period of the ministry are the following: The Baptism of Jesus and John the Baptist, The Temptation, The Woman taken in Adultery, Lazarus, The Entry into Jerusalem (which may also be considered as belonging to the *Passio Magna*). The Transfiguration and the Prodigal Son also occur. At various points in the cycles we also find

parts of the sermons John 6 and 8, as well as the story of Zacchaeus and the healing of various sick people. Mary Magdalene is usually included in the Lazarus story (also in the story of the Last Supper).

The liturgy during the Lenten season, according to the Sarum Breviary, carries prominently the following incidents:

- (a') *The Temptation.* Dom. Prima Quadragesimae.
 Ductus est Jesus in desertum a Spiritu ut tentaretur a diabolo.
 Et accedens tentator dixit ei: Si filius Dei es, dic ut lapides isti panes
 fiant
 The lectiones are taken in part from a homily of Pope Gregory, which
 treats of this story, also from a Sermo beati Maximi episcopi. The
 responses carry the principal points of the story.
- (b') *The Transfiguration.* Ebdomada I. Quadragesimae, Sabbato ff.
 Assumpsit Jesus discipulos suos et ascendit in montem: et transfiguratus
 est ante eos.
 Domine, bonum est nos hic esse: si vis faciamus hic tria tabernacula.
- (c') *The Woman taken in Adultery.* Ebdomada III. Quadragesimae, Sabbato ff.
 Inclinauit se Jesus et scribebat in terra, si quis sine peccato est, mittat
 in eam lapidem.
 Nemo te condemnauit, mulier? nemo, Domine; nec ego te condemnabo,
 jam amplius noli peccare.
- (d') Ebdomada IV. Quadragesimae, Feria sexta ff.
 Lazarus amicus noster dormit, eamus et e somno excitemus eum.
 Domine, si hic fuisses, Lazarus non esset mortuus, ecce jam foetet quatri-
 duanus in monumento
- (e') *Mary Magdalene.* Ebdomada in Passione ff.
 Quid molesti estis huic mulieri: opus enim bonum operata est in me.
 Mittens haec mulier in corpus meum hoc unguentum: ad sepeliendum
 me fecit.
- (f') *The Entry into Jerusalem.* Feria II. Ebdomadae sanctae.
 Turba multa quae convenerat ad diem festum clamabat Domino: bene-
 dictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Osanna in excelsis.
 Osanna Filio David, benedictus
 Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta prosternebant in via: et clamabant dicen-
 tes
 Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes ramos olivarum obviaverunt Domino claman-
 tes et dicentes

Rock²⁰⁰ prints the whole rubric for the Palm Sunday procession, after Clement Maydeston.

In addition to this, the story of the Blind Man at Jericho is contained in the responses for the Quinquagesimal Sunday, while portions of John 6 and 8 are found as antiphons and also in lectiones throughout the Lenten season.

A complete table of the content of the responses during the entire Lenten season, including Holy Week, from the Liber responsalis Gregorii Magni, will enable us to see still more clearly the agreement between

²⁰⁰ *The Church of our Fathers*, 4.269, note.

liturgy and plays. The responses of the dominical services appear with a narrow margin, those of the ferial services with a wide one.

Responsoria in Quinquagesimam.

The Blind Man at Jericho

Iter faciente Jesu cum deambularet Jericho, caecus clamabat ad eum, ut lumen recipere mereretur
 Miserere mei fili David. Quid vis ut faciam tibi? Domine ut videam.
 Et qui praeibant increpabant eum ut taceret; ipse autem magis ac magis clamabat: Fili David, miserere mei

The Healing of the Centurion's Son

Domine, puer meus jacet paraclytus in domo, et male torquetur.
 Amen dico tibi, ego veniam et curabo eum.
 Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum. Sed tantum dic

Responsoria de initio Quadragesimae.

The Prodigal Son

Pater peccavi in coelum et coram te; jam non sum dignus
 Quanti mercenarii in domo Patris mei

The Temptation

Ductus est Jesus in desertum ut tentaretur a diabolo
 Et accedens tentator, ait, Si Filius Dei es, dic ut lapides
 Non in solo pane vivit homo
 Tunc assumpsit eum diabolus in sanctam civitatem
 Tentans diabolus Dominum, ostendit ei omnia regna mundi et gloriam
 Vade Satanas, non tentabis
 Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies
 Reliquit eum tentator et angeli accesserunt

The Syro-Phaenician Woman

Dixit Dominus mulieri Chananaeae. Non est bonum sumere panem
 Utique domine, nam et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt
 O mulier, magna est fides tua. Fiat tibi sicut petisti

The Sick Man at Bethsaida

Angelus Domini descendit de caelo. Movebatur aqua
 Vade, jam noli peccare

The Transfiguration

Assumpsit Jesus discipulos suos, ascendit in montem
 Domine, bonum est nos hic esse. Si vis, faciamus hic
 Visionem quam vidistis nemini dixeritis, donec a mortuis

Hebdomada tertia in Quadragesima.

Christ and the Samaritan Woman

Qui biberit aquam quam ego do, dicit Dominus Samaritanae
 Domine, video ut propheta es tu

Responsoria in hebdomada quarta in Quadragesima.

The Woman taken in Adultery

Inclinavit se Jesus scribebat in terra
 Nemo te condemnavit mulier
 Nec ego te condemnabo

*The Dispute concerning the Healing of the Blind Man in Jerusalem**Lazarus*

Diligebat Jesus Martham
 Lazarus amicus noster dormit
 Domine, si hic fuisses, Lazarus non esset mortuus
 Ad monumentum Lazari clamabat Dominus dicens: Lazare veni foras

Responsoria de Passione Domini.

*The Sermon of Jesus, John 8, and the Attempt to kill Him**The Conspiracy against Jesus*

Principes sacerdotum consilium fecerunt ut Jesum occiderent

Responsoria in hebdomada majore in Palmis.

The Entry into Jerusalem

Ingrediente Domino in sanctam civitatem Hebraeorum pueri
 Turba multa quae convenerat ad diem festum clamabat ad Dominum; Benedic-
 tus qui venit in nomine Domini, hosanna in excelsis
 Occurrunt turbae cum floribus et palmis Redemptori obviam
 Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta sua prosternebant in viam
 Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes ramos olivarum, obviaverunt Domino

The Preparation for the Passover

Ante diem festum Paschae sciens Jesus quia venit hora

The Last Supper (and Mary Magdalene)

Coenantibus autem, accepit Jesus panem; benedixit ac fregit
 Coena facta est, dixit Jesus discipulis suis: Amen, amen dico vobis
 Mandatum novum do vobis Si ego Dominus et Magister
 In diebus illis mulier quae erat in civitate peccatrix
 Discumbens Dominus accepit panem, et dedit discipulis suis, dicens:
 Accipite et manducate hunc panem, et sciatis quia hoc est corpus meum.
 Et hunc calicem et bibite ex illo, et sciatis quia hic est sanguis meus novi
 Testamenti

In the remaining part of the Passio Magna, the Sarum Breviary agrees almost verbatim with the Liber responsalis Gregorii Magni.

One can not help seeing that the stock plays of the cycles agree with the subjects of the dominical services, and that the plays which are found only occasionally agree with the subjects of the ferial services, as outlined above. The agreement between the liturgy and the cycle play subjects is so evident as to exclude the probability of a chance coincidence. The authors of the cycles were familiar with the cycles of the liturgy and took in every case at least the same subjects for their plays, if not the same structure.

That the composers of plays used the liturgy, is shown by two plays printed by D'Ancona. The first one is a play of the Prodigal Son, Post Dominic. II Quadrag. The story of the Prodigal Son is carried in the responses for the Saturday of that week. The second one is a play, FERIA III post Dom. Passionis: Ambulabat Jesus in Galilaeam, non enim volebat in Judaeam ambulare.

Discipuli: Maestro nostro, de qui andate

Xps: El tempo mio non e' venuto

The liturgy for that day has: Tempus meum nondum advenit, tempus vestrum semper est paratum

So far as the other play, that of John the Baptist, is concerned, it seems to be an exception in this series, since it undoubtedly grew up in connection with the liturgy of the festival of John the Baptist (June 24). The festival celebrates especially the birth of John, and this narrative is carried in the liturgy of the day.²⁰¹ The play of the Baptism of Jesus has its liturgical basis in the festival of that name (January 7), whose liturgy was usually given together with that of Epiphany. It includes the principal parts of the story.²⁰²

In discussing briefly the individual and the cycle plays belonging to this series, the liturgical element will be found to be most persistent and prominent. The Johan Baptystes, in Harleian Miscellany, and the Temptation of our Lord, edited by Grosart, seem to have been individual plays. Whether they had any influence on the cycles, can not be determined. There are also isolated *Lazarus* and *Mary Magdalene* plays. In the *Mystere de la Resurrection du Lazare* of Orleans²⁰³ there are some liturgical tags which seem to connect the play definitely with the Easter series. After the antiphon: In sapientia disponens omnia . . . , and the hymn: Mane prima sabbati, the dinner at Simon's with the Mary Magdalene scene is introduced, very complete. Then comes the sickness, death, and finally the awakening of Lazarus by Christ. The Ecce vestrum

²⁰¹ Migne, 78.786.

²⁰² Migne, 78.741.

²⁰³ Du Meril, 213.

adventat gaudium and Ecce venit salvator gentium of the Nuntii remind strongly of both Christmas and Easter hymns, while the Mane prima sabbati is an Easter response.

In the Lazarus of Hilarius,²⁰⁴ which represents a very advanced stage of mystery play, the special evidences of liturgical influence are not present, but the final direction shows that it was a church play. Quo finito, si factum fuerit ad Matutinas, Lazarus incipiat: Te Deum laudamus; si vero ad Vesperas: Magnificat anima mea Dominum.

The Digby Mary Magdalene play published by Pollard²⁰⁵ and elsewhere is a late play, adapted, according to Pollard, from the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, of which an English version was published by Caxton, 1483. There is evidence of the influence of a liturgical play in the incident of Herod, when he receives from his philosophers the prophecy concerning Christ's incarnation. It is probable that the play was intended for the festival day of Mary Magdalene (July 23), where it was expressly stated in the liturgy that she was considered the sister of Lazarus.²⁰⁶ This fact may also explain the other cases, in which the Mary Magdalene play is combined with the Lazarus play.

Transition Plays

So far as the cycle plays are concerned, there are a great number both in Germany and England that show liturgical influence. In the Passion Play of Benediktbeuern, Munich, thirteenth century,²⁰⁷ the following is the sequence of incidents:

Chorus cantet: Ingressus Pilatus (Ant. Cf. W. Meyer, *Carmina burana*, page 123).

The calling of Peter and Andrew.

The healing of the blind man at Jericho.

Domine Jesu, fili David, miserere mei

Quid vis ut faciam tibi

Domine, tantum ut videam.

If we compare with this the liturgy of Dom. Quinquagesimae, we find the whole story told in the responses, and in several antiphons the dialogue. Miserere mei, fili David. Quid vis, ut faciam? Domine ut videam.

Zacheus.

(f') The entry into Jerusalem.

Chorus cantet: Quum appropinquaret Quum audisset

Pueri hebraeorum, all of which are antiphons in the Sarum Processional and Breviary (Cf. *Annales archeologiques*).

²⁰⁴ Du Meril, 225.

²⁰⁵ *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes*, 49. Cf. Furnivall, *The Digby Plays*.

²⁰⁶ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 98, 404.

²⁰⁷ Schmeller, *Carmina burana*. Du Meril, 126.

- (e') The dinner at Simon's, Mary Magdalene.

Chorus: Accessit ad pedes.

Antiphon: Quid molesti estis huic mulieri? Opus bonum operata est in me.

- (d') The awakening of Lazarus.

Lazarus amicus noster dormit

Domine, si fuisses hic

These are antiphons, Ebdom. IV Quadragesimae.

- (a') The conspiracy.

O pontifices, o viri magni consilii

Compare with this part the antiphon: Principes sacerdotum consilium fecerunt ut Jesum occiderent

- (b') The agony in Gethsemane.

Tristis est anima mea usque

Simon, dormis? Non potuistis una hora vigilare mecum?

Una hora non potuistis vigilare

Judam non videtis, quomodo non dormit, sed festinat me tradere

All of these speeches are antiphons, Feria quinta in coena Domini, and the last one is not found in the Gospel account.

- (c) The betrayal and capture.

The denial of Peter.

Tamquam ad latronem existis

Antiphon, Feria sexta in parasceve.

- (e) Trial before Pilate.

Lectio from sermon of Augustine.

- (f) The crucifixion.

It should be mentioned here that the episode of the Eli, Eli, lama follows the *Emittat spiritum*, just as it does in the liturgy.

The planctus Mariae.

This also occupies a position analagous to the part in the liturgy which furnished occasion for its composition: Jerusalem, luge Plange quasi virgo This will be discussed at length in the chapter on the Planctus.

In the Passion de Frankfort, probably of the fifteenth century²⁰⁸ the following incidents occur:

John the Baptist Ecce agnus Dei

The baptism of Jesus. Hic est filius meus

- (a') The temptation of Jesus.

The Calling of the Apostles.

The healing of the blind. Jesu fili David

The healing of lame, leprous, deaf, infirm.

The banquet of Herod and the death of John.

Sermon of Jesus, John 6.

Mary Magdalene.

The manuscript is fragmentary.

²⁰⁸ Du Menl, 297.

German Passion Plays

In the Zerbster Prozession of 1507²⁰⁰ the following pageants appeared:

- John the Baptist
- (a') The temptation of Jesus
- The twelve apostles
- John's death
- (d') Lazarus
- (f') Entry into Jerusalem
- (b) Mount Olivet (agony)
- (c) Betrayal
- Denial of Peter
- (d) Christ before Caiaphas
- (e) Jesus before Pilate and Herod
- (f) The crucifixion

In the cyclical poem, *Von der Beschaffung diser Welt*, of 1465,²¹⁰ which is based upon the liturgy, the following incidents are described:

- John the Baptist and the baptism of Jesus
- Beginning of Christ's ministry
- Death of John Baptist
- Miracles of Jesus
- (f') Christ's entry into Jerusalem
- Last supper
- (b) Gethsemane
- (e) Christ before Pilate
- (f) Crucifixion and death

In the *Mittelniederländisches Osterspiel* of Maastricht²¹¹ the list is very complete, as far as it goes. The last part of the manuscript is lost.

- The baptism of Jesus. Hic est filius meus
- (a') The temptation
- The calling of Peter and Andrew
- Petre, amas me? Tu scis, dne.
- Pasce oves meas.
- Tu es Petrus

This part of the cycle is undoubtedly not based upon the Gospel account, for that part of the Gospel story does not contain these speeches. They are found, however, in the Responsoria for the festival of St. Peter (*Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:789).

The marriage at Cana

An addition from the Epiphany series, the second Sunday.

- (c') { Mary Magdalene
- The dinner at Simon's
- (d') The awakening of Lazarus
- (a) The conspiracy and the offer of Judas
- The preparation for the Passover

²⁰⁰ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:276.

²¹⁰ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:130.

²¹¹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:302.

(b) The agony in Gethsemane

Symon, dormis? Non potuisti una hora vigilare mecum, et Judas non dormit, sed festinat me tradere Judaeis.

One has but to compare the speeches given here with the antiphons tabulated above and elsewhere referred to, and the conclusion as to the extent of liturgical influence will be inevitable.

In the Alsfelder Passionsspiel²¹² the incident in the house of Simon and the anointing by Mary Magdalene show the same liturgical influence:

Chorus canit: Accessit ad pedes

Jhs dicit symo, hebeo tibi aliquid dicere.

(e') Jhs dicit Recte judicasti.

Jhus rnt Quid molesti estis huic mulieri

Discipuli canunt: Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa.

The Friedberger Passionsspiel²¹³ is a great deal like the Frankfort^t Passion Play, which will be discussed below.

In the Egerer Spiel²¹⁴ the following incidents occur:

Jesus and the disciples at Bethany

(e') Mary Magdalene

(d') Lazarus

(a') Conspiracy

(f') Entry into Jerusalem

The last supper

(b) Agony in Gethsemane

(c) Betrayal and capture

Denial of Peter

(d) Trial before Caiaphas

(e) Trial before Pilate

Death of Judas

Condemnation of Christ

Chorus: Ingressus Pilatus

(f) Crucifixion and planctus

Death

The Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel has the following parts.²¹⁵

John the Baptist

(a') The temptation

The call of the disciples

(d'&e') Mary Magdalene and Lazarus

The great passion

In the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle of about 1350²¹⁶ the following incidents are included:

Baptism of Jesus

Ecce agnus dei Hic est filius meus

²¹² *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 3:477.

²¹³ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 7:545.

²¹⁴ *Germania*, 3:267.

²¹⁵ *Germania*, 4:338.

²¹⁶ Froning, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*, 336.

- John before Herod
 (a') The temptation
 The calling of the disciples
 The blind man at Jericho
 Jhesu, fili David
 Death of John Baptist
 Christ's sermon, John 6
 (e') Mary Magdalene (before conversion)
 (d') Lazarus
 Lazarus, amicus noster dormit
 Lazare veni foras
 (a) Conspiracy
 Collegerunt pontifices
 (f') Entry into Jerusalem
 Pueri Ebraeorum vestimenta prosternabant Pueri Ebraeorum
 tollentes ramos
 (e') The meal at Simon's
 Quid molesti estis huic mulieri
 Ecce dimittuntur tibi peccata
 The last supper
 Mandatum novum do vobis
 Diligamus nos invicem
 Antiphons in coena Domini.
 (b) Agony in Gethsemane
 Una hora non potestis
 Resp: O Juda, qui dereliquisti (Feria quinta in coena Domini).
 (d) Trial before Caiaphas
 (e) Trial before Pilate
 (f) Crucifixion
 Sicut ovis *Ant:* In laudibus, Coena Domini.
 Popule meus quid feci tibi From Improperia of Good Friday.
 (g) The death and burial

In the Frankfurter Passionsspiel of 1493²¹⁷ we find the following parts:

- The calling of the disciples
 The sermon, John 6
 The sick man at Bethesda
 The Syro-Phenician woman
 Mary Magdalene (before conversion)
 Woman taken in adultery
 Healing of blind, lame, etc.
 Conversion of Mary Magdalene
 (e') { The meal at Simon's
 Ad quid perditio haec
 Dismissa sunt ei peccata multa
 (d') Lazarus
 (a) Council of Jews
 Last part of sermon, John 6
 (f') Entry into Jerusalem
 Pueri Hebraeorum vestimenta Pueri Hebraeorum tollentes
 ramos

²¹⁷ Froning, 336.

- Last supper
 Mandatum novum do vobis
 (b) Agony in Gethsemane
 Sic non potuisti una hora Quemcunque osculatus fuero
 (d) Before Caiaphas
 Tamquam ad latronem existis
 (e) Trial before Pilate
 (f) The condemnation and crucifixion
 The planctus Mariae and death

In the Sterzinger Passion²¹⁸ we have the following incidents:

- (a) The conspiracy
 Colegerunt pontifices Expedit nobis, ut unus moriatur
 Last supper
 Homo quidam fecit Quia parata sunt omnibus
 Antiphons of the Gospel of the Great Supper.
 Desiderio desideravi pascha manducare
 Mandatum novum do vobis
 (b) Agony in Gethsemane
 In monte Oliveti oravi ad patrem
 Tristis est anima mea
 Mi pater, sy possibile est
 Symon, dormis? Non potuisti
 Quemcunque osculatus fuero
 (d) Trial before Caiaphas
 (e) Trial before Pilate
 Popule meus, quid feci tibi aut in quo contristavi te?
 Quia eduxi te de terra Egipti, parasti crucem salvatori tuo!
 Quia eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annos et manna cibavi et intro-
 duxi in terram satis bonam, parasti crucem.
 Quid ultra debui facere tibi et non feci? Ego quidem plantavi te vineam
 meam speciosissimam et tu facta es michi omnis amara; aceto namque
 sitim meam potasti et lancea perforasti latus salvatori tuo.

This is a special sequence or "Improperia," made up of responses from psalms and prophecies used during Holy Week.²¹⁹

- (f) The crucifixion, planctus, and death

In the Haller Passion²²⁰ the following are the parts:

- (a) Conspiracy of the Jews
 Last supper
 (b) Agony in Gethsemane
 Quemcunque osculatus fuero
 (d) Trial before Caiaphas
 { Ecce vidimus eum non habentes speciem
 (f) { Crucifixion
 { O vos omnes qui transitis Resp. in Parasceve
 { Death

²¹⁸ Wackernell, *Alte deutsche Passionspiele aus Tirol*, 3.

²¹⁹ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 359.

²²⁰ Wackernell, 277.

The Brixener Passion has:²²¹

- (e') The dinner at Simon's
Accessit ad pedes
Last supper
- (b) Agony in Gethsemane
- (d) Trial before Caiaphas
- (e) Trial before Pilate
- (f) Crucifixion and death

A Mischhandschrift²²² has:

- (a') The temptation
Syro-Phenician woman
Sick man of Bethesda
Woman taken in adultery
Healing of blind at Jericho
The sermon, John 6
- (e') Dinner at Simon's
Ut quid perditio haec
- (a) Council of Jews
Healing of blind, Zacheus
- (f') Entry into Jerusalem

English Passion Plays

In the English field, the cycles show a much more advanced stage of development; and yet the liturgical influence is apparent, as well in structure as in certain liturgical tags that have persisted.

In the Chester cycle the following plays occur:

- (a') The temptation and the woman taken in adultery
- (d') Lazarus
Sermon of Jesus
Healing of blind
Lazarre, com fourth, I byde thee.
- (f') Entry into Jerusalem
Dinner at Simon's
A good deede shee hase done to daie
At Bethany and on the way
Pueri: Hosanna filio David
The purging of the temple and the first conspiracy
- (c) Christ betrayed
The last supper
- (b) The agony
What! slepe you brethren all here?
The passion
- (d) Before Caiaphas
- (e) Before Pilate

²²¹ Wackernell, 353.

²²² Wackernell, 435.

The condemnation
The denial of Peter

This peculiar position of the denial is easily explained on the basis of the liturgy, which has the responses concerning Peter's denial at this point (*Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:765-767).

- (f) The crucifixion
 - Casting of lots
 - Jesus of Nazareth, King of Jews
 - Death

In the Coventry cycle, the following incidents appear:

- The baptism of Christ
 - Ecce vox clamantis in deserto Ecce agnus dei qui tollit
- (a') The temptation
 - Hic veniant angeli cantantes et ministrantes ei: Gloria tibi, domine dicens.
- The woman in adultery
- (c') Lazarus
 - Lazarus! my frende so fre, from that depe pitt come out anon!
- (a) The council of the Jews
- (f') Entry into Jerusalem
 - And they syngyn: Gloria, laus
- The last supper
 - Preparation and supper
 - Jews in council
 - Mary Magdalene

This position of the Mary Magdalene incident is a most peculiar one, but it agrees exactly with the liturgy, where the story of the peccatrix is placed in connection with the institution of the Sacrament (Ant. in Evg., In Coena Domini, *Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:766).

- (c) The betrayal of Christ
- (d) The trial of Christ
 - Before Annas and Caiaphas
 - Denial of Peter
- (e) Before Pilate and Herod
 - The scourging
- (f) The condemnation and crucifixion
 - Hic est Jhesus Nazarenus
 - Heloy, heloy lama
 - In manus tuas, domine
 - Nunc consummatum est
- (g) The burial of Christ

In the Towneley cycle, the following plays occur:

- Johannes baptista
 - Hic tradat ei agnum dei
 - A knyght to baptyse his lord kyng from the liturgy: Ant: Baptizat miles regem, servus Dominicum suum In oct. Theophan. (*Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:744).
- (a) Conspiracio
 - Council of Jews
 - Last supper

- (b) Agony and capture
- (d) Coliphizacio
Trial before Caiaphas and buffeting
- (e) Flagellacio
Trial before Pilate and scourging
Condemnation
Processus crucis
- (f) Crucifixion
Jhesus: I pray you pepyll that passe me by,
That lede youre lyfe so lykandly,
heyfe vp youre hartys on hight!
Behold if euer ye sagh body
Buffet & bett thus bloody,
Or yit thus dulfully dight,

from the liturgy

O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte, si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus (In Parasceve, *Migne Patrologia Latina*, 78:767).

Although both the Northern Passion and the York Crucifixion have a passage based on this same response of the liturgy, there was evidently no copying or borrowing at this point, since the reading is too unlike. The Northern Passion has:

Ye folk that passes by the strete,
Lukes vp and se my wondes wete,
And whatkin turmentes I here take,
And suffers sorows for yowre sake;
Bihaides if any other pine
May be likkind vnto myne,
Or if any other thing
Sufferd euer so hard pineing (Line 1757 ff.).

The York version will be given below.

- (g) The death and burial

In the York cycle, the following plays appear:

- The baptism of Jesus
- (a') The temptation of Jesus
- (b') The transfiguration
- (c') The woman in adultery. Lazarus
- (d') Lazarus, veni foras
- (f') Entry into Jerusalem
(Jericho) The blind man: Jhesu, the son of dauid called; thou have mercy!
Jesus: What wolde thou man I to the dede.
- (a) The conspiracy to take Jesus
The last supper
Domine, quis est, qui tradit te
- (b) The agony and the betrayal
Might thou nogt the space of an owre Hauke wakid nowe mildely with me.
Euen like a theffe henensly hurl ye me here.
Peter denies Jesus. Jesus before Caiaphas
- (e) Jesus before Pilate
Second accusation before Pilate
The condemnation of Jesus

Christ led up to Calvary, Planctus

(f) Crucifixion

All men that walkis by waye or strete,
Takes tente ye shalle no trauayle tyne,
Byholdes myn heede, myn handis, and my feete,
And fully feele now or ye fyne,
If any mournyng may be meete,
Or myscheue mesured vnto myne. (See above!)

(g) The death and burial

In the Ancient Cornish Drama the following parts are included in the *Passio Domini Nostri Jhesu Christi*:

(a') Temptation

(f') Entry into Jerusalem

Tunc veniant pueri ebraeorum et deferant palmas et flores

(c') The invitation of Simon the Leper

Mary Magdalene

(a) The conspiracy

The last supper

(b) Agony at Gethsemane

Peter, thou hast not watched well;

A little while thou shouldest watch with me

(c) The betrayal

The denial of Peter

(d) Trial before Caiaphas

End of Judas

(e) Trial before Pilate

The condemnation

(f) The crucifixion

(g) The burial

The material here offered seems to be sufficient to warrant the following conclusions: There is an obvious agreement of incidents and the sequence of incidents between liturgy and plays, in the Lenten season and Holy Week. The plot construction in the cycle plays in almost every case is that of the liturgy. The liturgical tags in many of the plays point to the liturgical responses or are identical with antiphons and responses of the liturgy. Many Latin tags of early plays are continued in later plays. The John Baptist play was taken from one or more festivals of this saint, the Baptism of Jesus from the Epiphany series. The plays of the Great Passion apparently developed first, as a cycle, the Ministry plays, some of which developed individually, were taken into the cycle later.

THE PLANCTUS

List of Texts Examined

Bordesholmer Marienklage.
Egerer Spiel.
Breslauer Schöppenbuch.
Wiener Passionsspiel.
Sterzinger Passion.
Zerbster Prozession.
York Plays, XXXVI-XXXIX.
Towneley Mysteries, XXIII-XXVI.
Chester Plays, XVII-XIX.
Ludus Coventriae, XXXII-XXXV.
Shrewsbury Fragments.
Frankfurter Passionsspiele.
Pfarrkircher Passion.
Haller Passion.
Ludus de nocte Pasche.
Kloster Lichtental Planctus.
Benediktbeurer Osterspiel.
Processionale, St. John the Evangelist, Dublin.
Troparium-Prosarium, Pripoll.
St. Gallen Manuscript.
Bodleian Manuscript Planctus.
Narbonne Ordinarium.
Sens, thirteenth century.
Prag Breviar, fourteenth century.
Engelberg 1372.
Cividale, fourteenth century.
Nürnberg Antiphonarium, thirteenth century.
Einsiedeln, thirteenth century.
Coutances Breviar, fifteenth century.
Orleans, thirteenth century.
Tours Mysterium.
Hortulanus Play.

The Planctus, like the Harrowing of Hell in the next chapter, is considered here as an intermediate episode, because it stands between the liturgy and the cycle plays in a somewhat isolated manner, its influence being seen in the Passion plays as well as in the Easter plays. In its inception it is found in the liturgy which influenced both the Visitatio and Hortulanus scenes and the Good Friday play. So far as the present general topic is concerned, the Planctus is of very subsidiary importance. It represents a unique excrescence of the liturgy, however, which, in some cases, assumed formidable proportions. Its later development in the various languages has been the subject of many interesting monographs.

The discussion of the *Planctus Mariae* was begun by Schönbach.²²³ He was followed by Wechssler,²²⁴ who made use of Schönbach and drew a rather sweeping conclusion in regard to the importance and influence of the *Planctus*. He says: "In Italien ist das vulgärsprachliche Drama überhaupt aus den Dichtungen der Laudesen und zwar speziell aus den Marienklagen erwachsen. Und in den Ländern, welche anders als Italien schon zuvor ein vulgärsprachliches geistliches Drama entwickelt haben, beruhen wenigstens die Passionsspiele auf unserer Literaturgattung. Im früheren Mittelalter gab es keine anderen Dramatisierungen der Leidensgeschichte als die Marienklagen." That these conclusions were far too daring, has been shown by several writers in recent articles. Mr. G. C. Taylor²²⁵ asks: "Is it not more probable that the play was based on some model, dramatic or otherwise, and the *planctus* portion written along with the rest of it?" (page 636). And Professor Young²²⁶ presents several reasons why Wechssler's theory is untenable, as noted above (in the chapter on the Passion plays). Chambers²²⁷ and Creizenach²²⁸ seem to accept, in the main, the arguments of Wechssler. Meyer²²⁹ treats of the *Planctus* subject in a rather detached manner and does not commit himself as to Wechssler's theory. Davidson²³⁰ touches upon the subject only incidentally. Kuhl²³¹ and Thien²³² confine themselves to limited portions of the subject, especially in the discussion of vernacular sources.

Beginning now with the evidences of the *Planctus* in the cycles and the single vernacular plays, we find that the thorough work of other investigators enables us to make a summary, for both the English and German fields. In the English field, the work of Thien and of Taylor pretty well exhausts the subject. Thien discusses twenty-seven texts with their variants, tabulating his references on pages 12-15. Taylor bases his remarks on twenty-five texts, beginning with about 1250. He makes a special division of dramatic plays, including among these those of York, Towneley, Chester, Coventry, Digby. A comparison of the conclusions of these two investigators yields the following:

²²³ *Über die Marienklagen.*

²²⁴ *Die romanischen Marienklagen.*

²²⁵ The English *Planctus Mariae*, *Modern Philology*, 4:605.

²²⁶ Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 25:309.

²²⁷ *The Medieval Stage*, 2:39, 40.

²²⁸ *Geschichte der neueren Dramas*, 88.

²²⁹ *Fragmenta burana*, 66-7.

²³⁰ *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, 21.

²³¹ *Über die Bordesholmer Marienklage.*

²³² *Über die englischen Marienklagen.*

THIEN

- York . . . principally Rolle's "Tractat," the Latin source not given (Cf. Taylor, page 609);
 Towneley . . . principally "Lamentacio," based on Bonaventura, Meditations;
 Chester . . . based on Bonaventura;
 Coventry . . . influenced by Bonaventura, "Tractat" and "Prosacompassio;"
 Digby . . . principally on Bonaventura.

TAYLOR

- York . . . no definite source, adaptation after many sources;
 Towneley . . . combination of more than one Planctus;
 Chester . . . like York;
 Coventry . . . Latin version of Bonaventura's Meditations;
 Digby . . . some version of the Cursor Mundi Planctus.

In the German field, the work of Kühl is, in general, sufficiently exhaustive, so far as direct sources are concerned. He names the sequence Planctus ante nescia as the original source of the following Planctus: Bordesholmer Marienklage, Trierer Marienklage, Alsfelder Passionsspiel, Egerer Frohnleichnamsspiel, Böhmsche Marienklage, Erlauer Marienklage, Münchener Marienklage, Wolfenbuttler Marienklage, Sterzinger Passionsspiel, Breslauer Marienklage. For the Bordesholmer Marienklage he finds sources also in the hymn of Venantius Fortunatus "Pange lingua gloriosi praelia certaminis," in the "Stabat mater," in the hymn "Flete, fideles animae," and in the verse, "Mi Johannes, planctum move." There are other planctus in the German field, such as that of the Frankfurter Passionsspiel of 1493,²³³ that of the Breslauer Schöppenbuch of about 1350,²³⁴ that of the Passionsspiel bei St. Stephan in Wien, before 1685,²³⁵ which is evidently modeled after the Bordesholmer Marienklage, that of Kloster Himmelgarten of the fifteenth century,²³⁶ that of the Zerbster Prozession of 1507.²³⁷ The sources of these and others have been found by the various investigators partly in Bonaventura's Meditations, partly in the Interrogatio Anselmi de passione Domini.²³⁸ Another possible source that has been mentioned is the "Dialogus Beatae Mariae et Anselmi de Passione Christi."²³⁹ The principal incidents of the Passio Magna are there discussed, among them also "De Christi morte, et eam consecutis mirabilibus," followed by "Luctus matris pro filii morte." There seems to be not the slightest doubt that such Latin planctus as those that are

²³³ Fronsing, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*.

²³⁴ *Germania*, 16:57.

²³⁵ *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 6:146.

²³⁶ *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 21:395.

²³⁷ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2:276.

²³⁸ Oscar Schade, in *Italia Saxorum in libraria orphanotrophi MDCCCLXX*.

²³⁹ Migne, 159:271.

printed by Mone²⁰ are indebted for a great part of their subject matter, though not for their basis, to either Bonaventura or Anselm.

Before proceeding to the Latin plays, however, it will be best to examine at least one vernacular planctus with some care, in order to discover, if possible, whether any connection with the liturgy may be established. The poem, "Unser Vrouwen Klage,"²¹ can hardly be considered in this connection, because it is merely a descriptive poem based, as Milchsack states, on the Interrogatio sancti Anselmi mentioned above. But the Bordesholmer Marienklage is a typical German vernacular play, from which some idea of the planctus may be gained. The superscription of this, "Planctus devotissimus beatissime Marie virginis," states that it should be played "bona sexta feria," that is, on Good Friday, "ante prandium, in ecclesia ante chorum in loco aliquantum elevato vel extra ecclesiam, si bona est aura." If the reading of the Passio Magna interfered with the giving of the Planctus, it should be played "feria secunda post dominicam Palmarum ante prandium," that is on the Tuesday of Holy Week. The play opens with the

Ps: Circumdederunt me viri mendaces

and the

Vs: Quoniam tribulatio proxima est

John relates the happenings of the night before the crucifixion, whereupon Mary chants the

Vs: Anxius est in me spiritus meus
Conturbata sunt omnia ossa mea

The scene under the cross is given with the plaint of Mary,

Heu quantus luctus nobis est inductus

and of Mary Magdalene,

O quam tristis et afflicta from the *Stabat mater dolorosa*.

The play closes with the *Consummatum est* and the death, after which come an *Oremus* and a benediction. At the close there is heard again the

Ps: Circumdederunt me ,

and the

Vs: Quoniam tribulatio proxima est

Then the reading of the *Passio Magna* is taken up from the *Tenebrae facta sunt* till *Tradidit spiritum*.

This play ought to be sufficient to convince every unprejudiced investigator that theories like that of Wechssler are untenable. Versions of

²⁰ *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, 1.37, and elsewhere. Cf. *Germania*, 17.233.

²¹ *Beiträge*, 5.193.

the Lament of Mary are found as early as the twelfth century,²⁴² and if the entire Passion series were built upon the planctus, the present one would occupy a unique position, since it dates from the latter half of the fifteenth century (about 1488). The very construction of the play is sufficient evidence for the fact that it was simply a dramatization of the Good Friday story. Moreover, the text is taken from the *Passio Magna* read on that day, and the framework is shown in the Latin liturgical tags. The *Circumdederunt me viri mendaces*, with the *Vs: Quoniam tribulatio proxima est* is given in the *Sarum Breviary* as *Resp. ad Vesp. Dom. in Passione*. The *Vs: Anxiatus est in me* is an Antiphon in *Laudibus*, *Peria sexta Parasc.* The *Tenebrae factae sunt* *emisit spiritum* is a *Resp. in secundo noct. Parasc.*

It seems the most natural thing to suppose that the Good Friday sequences, such as "*Planctus ante nescia*,"²⁴³ "*Flete, fideles animae*,"²⁴⁴ and others, or the hymns, "*Mi Johannes, planctum move*"²⁴⁵ and "*Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia*"²⁴⁶ should be expanded into a play for Good Friday, especially since the liturgy suggested a plaint. For the Great Sabbath the following responses were assigned:

Hierusalem luge et exue te vestibus jocunditatis: induere cinere et cilicio, Quia in te occisus est salvator Israel.

Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea, et ululate pastores in cinere et cilicio

Ululate pastores et clamate: aspergite vos cinere.

Plangent eum quasi unigenitum: quia innocens Dominus occisus est.

(*Sarum Breviary: cf. Liber responsalis Gregorii Magni.*)

So far, then, as the Good Friday Planctus is concerned, the following conclusions seem to be justified: The liturgy suggests a special Planctus. The sequence *Planctus ante nescia* and others were composed according to this suggestion. The sequences expanded, first into Latin plaints which received extra subject material from the liturgy and various other sources, and finally into vernacular plaints, whose influence is felt even in the cycle plays. The Planctus was not the germ of the Passion series.

Easter Morning Planctus

There is another point to be discussed in connection with the planctus, for its influence was not confined to the Good Friday play. There is good reason for believing that not only the lament of Mary, the virgin, but also the plaint of the three Maries on Easter morning, as well as that of Mary

²⁴² Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24 350.

²⁴³ Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*, 125.

²⁴⁴ Meyer, 69.

²⁴⁵ Meyer, 71.

²⁴⁶ Meyer, 144.

Magdalene, though in a more remote manner, were influenced or at least definitely suggested by the liturgy.

Beginning again with the English cycle plays, there is a very extensive Easter planctus in the Digby Plays in the "Mystery of the Resurrection."¹⁴⁷ It may be noted, in passing, that the Kloster Lichtental Planctus, like the Digby Burial and Resurrection Play, has a double Planctus, one for Good Friday, one for Easter. There is a lament of the three Maries in the York cycle (XXXVIII), which is much like that of the almost identical Towneley Play (XXVI). In Towneley the lament begins:

Alas! to dy with doyll am I dight!
 Alas! that I shuld se hys pyne,-
 Alas! how stand I on my feet!

The same kind of planctus is found in the Chester (XIX) and in the Coventry cycles (XXXVI). In the Shrewsbury Fragments¹⁴⁸ the Latin hymn, *Heu, pius pastor occiditur* is used in a translation.

German Planctus

In the German field, we have an Easter Planctus of the three Maries in the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle,¹⁴⁹ in the Pfarrkircher Passion,¹⁵⁰ in the Haller Passion,¹⁵¹ in the Egerer Spiel,¹⁵² in the Ludus de nocte Pasche.¹⁵³ An examination of the sources in these cases leads back in every case to sequences and hymns like the following

Heu nobis internas mentes , a sequence of the early ages (Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*),
Heu redemptio Israel
Omnipotens pater altissime
Heu pius pastor occiditur , and others.

An examination of the Latin plays in the liturgical field will bring these very sequences and hymns into prominence. In the Ludus immo exemplum Domini resurrectionis of Benediktbeuern¹⁵⁴ we have, *Heu nobis internas mentes*. In the Processionale of the Church of St. John the Evangelist of Dublin, fourteenth century¹⁵⁵ we have, *Heu pius pastor occiditur*. In the Troparium-Prosarium of Pripoll¹⁵⁶ we have, *Heu quan-*

¹⁴⁷ Wright, *Reliquiae antiquae* 2:174.

¹⁴⁸ *Mainly: Specimens of Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, xxx.

¹⁴⁹ Frothing, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*, 396.

¹⁵⁰ Wackernagel, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tord.* 181.

¹⁵¹ Wackernagel, 177.

¹⁵² *Germania*, 5:267.

¹⁵³ Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, 25.

¹⁵⁴ Meyer, *Fragments laevana*, 176.

¹⁵⁵ *Mainly*, xxx.

¹⁵⁶ Young, *Some Texts*, 305.

tus est noster dolor. In a St. Gall manuscript²⁵⁷ we have, *Heu nobis (internas mentes)*. In a Bodleian manuscript²⁵⁸ we have, *Heu pius pastor occiditur*. In the Narbonne Ordinarium²⁵⁹ we have, *Omnipotens pater altissime, Heu quantus est noster dolor*. In the text of Sens²⁶⁰ we have, *Hortum praedestinatio*. This was originally a sequence of Einsiedeln, twelfth century. In the Prag Breviarium, fourteenth century²⁶¹ we have, *Omnipotens pater altissime*. In the Engelberg Officium of 1372²⁶² we have, *Heu nobis internas mentes*. In the Cividale Processionale, fourteenth century²⁶³ there is the same lament. In the Nürnberg Antiphonarium of the thirteenth century,²⁶⁴ as well as in that of Einsiedeln of the thirteenth century,²⁶⁵ the same plaint appears. In the Orleans manuscript of the thirteenth century²⁶⁶ we have, *Heu pius pastor occiditur*. And in the *Mysterium of Tours*, finally,²⁶⁷ we have once more, *Omnipotens pater altissime*.

For the sequences which were so generally utilized in these liturgical plays, we again have the evident suggestion of the liturgy. And it was not merely the general idea which received consideration, but a specific liturgical direction. Some of the last antiphons for the Great Sabbath read.

Resp: O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite et videte, Si dolor similis est sicut dolor meus.

Ant: Plangent eum quasi unigenitum: quia innocens Dominus occisus est.

Ant: Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum: lamentabantur fletus Dominum.

These responses are all the more significant in their suggestion of the plaint of the three Maries, as there is no mention of weeping or lamenting on the part of the women in the Gospel. The conclusion which seems most natural then is that the *Planctus* of the three Maries on Easter morning was suggested by the liturgy, one of the sequences mentioned above being chosen to express the lament at the tomb.

Mary Magdalen Planctus

Bearing in mind now the conclusions in regard to the *Planctus* of the Crucifixion play as well as that of the *Visitatio Sepulcri* play, it seems a

²⁵⁷ Young, *Some Texts* . . . , 320.

²⁵⁸ Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 919.

²⁵⁹ Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 64.

²⁶⁰ Lange, 64.

²⁶¹ Lange, 74.

²⁶² Lange, 136.

²⁶³ Lange, 136.

²⁶⁴ Lange, 140.

²⁶⁵ Lange, 140.

²⁶⁶ Lange, 160.

²⁶⁷ Mühsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, 97.

very natural thing that the planctus idea should have been extended to the later Hortulanus scene with Mary Magdalene, and that a plaint should have been put into her mouth. In the first place, she is usually included among the women at the tomb in the Visitatio scene, and then the *Quid ploras* afforded another cue for a lament of Mary Magdalene. In accordance with this, we find almost as many plaints of Mary Magdalene alone as for the three Maries in the previous scene. In the English cycles, there is a Hortulanus Planctus in York (XXXIX), in Towneley (XXVI), in Chester (XIX), and in Coventry (XXXVII). In the German field, we find this planctus in such plays as the *Pfarrkircher Passion*²⁶⁶ and the *Egerer Spiel*²⁶⁷. The sources of these plaints are to be found in the sequences and hymns which were utilized in the Latin plays. In the *Troparium-Prosarium* of Prippoll²⁶⁸ we have *Rex in acubitus jam se contulerat*, evidently composed or adapted for the play. In a St. Gall manuscript²⁶⁹ we have: *Dolor crescit Heu redemptio Israel*. In the Engelberg text of 1372²⁷⁰ we have *Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia*, also in the Cividale manuscript of the fourteenth century²⁷¹. In the Nurnberg Antiphonarium of the thirteenth century²⁷² we have *Heu redemptio israel*, while the Einsiedeln manuscript of the same century²⁷³ has *Dolor crescit*. In the Coutances Breviarium, fifteenth century²⁷⁴ there is merely the direction: *Tunc Maria magdalena faciat lamentaciones, sic dicens: Me miseram. Finita lamentacione redeat ad sepulcrum*. In the Orleans manuscript of the thirteenth century²⁷⁵ the lament seems to have been composed for the play: *Heu dolor, heu quam dira doloris angustia*. In the *Mysterium* of Tours²⁷⁶ we have another apparently original lament. *Heu me misera! magnus labor, magnus dolor, magna est tristitia!* In the Hortulanus Play²⁷⁷ we have: *Dolor crescit*, with a rather free German translation.

Before drawing the final conclusions, a digression must be made on account of a suggestion by Doctor Young.²⁸⁰ He thinks that the Planctus may be connected with the Depositio Crucis. It seems certain that

²⁶⁶ Wackernell, 181.

²⁶⁷ *Germania*, 3:267.

²⁶⁸ Young, *Some Texts* . . . , 307.

²⁶⁹ Young, 323.

²⁷⁰ Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfesten*, 136.

²⁷¹ Lange, 136.

²⁷² Lange, 140.

²⁷³ Lange, 140.

²⁷⁴ Lange, 157.

²⁷⁵ Lange, 160.

²⁷⁶ Milchaark, 97.

²⁷⁷ *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:309.

²⁸⁰ *Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play*, Publ. Mod. Lan. Assoc., 24:308.

Professor Young's other idea,²⁸¹ according to which he makes the Depositio a scene for itself, corresponding to the Elevatio Crucis, is the correct one. The Planctus is a Crucifixion play and its action closes with the death of the Savior. In its extended forms, especially in the vernacular, it represents the development of an excrescence of the liturgy. The Depositio is a scene of itself, the Burial play, in preparation for the Harrowing of Hell incident, which was usually connected with the Elevatio Crucis.

From the entire discussion the following conclusions may be drawn: The suggestions found in the liturgy point in two directions, to Good Friday and to Easter Day, and possibly the latter suggestion could be extended to include the Hortulanus scene. The sequences and hymns Planctus ante nescia, Stabat mater dolorosa, Mi Johannes planctum move, Flete fideles animae, for Good Friday, and, Heu nobis internas mentes, Heu pius pastor occiditur, and Dolor crescit Omnipotens pater altissime, for Easter, were composed at the suggestion of the liturgy. In the development of the sequences into liturgical plays, subject matter was taken principally from the liturgy, with secondary material from various Latin sources, notably Bonaventura and Anselm, but the liturgical influence is still apparent in the liturgical construction. The play as such always remained isolated, but in the later vernacular and cycle plays its subject matter was used more or less extensively, sometimes forming whole incidents. The lament of the three Maries and of Mary Magdalene on Easter morning was never expanded into a separate liturgical play, unless the Hortulanus printed by Meyer (page 144) be considered such.

THE HARROWING OF HELL PLAY

List of Texts Examined

Benedictine Ordinal of the Nuns of Barking.
Processionale of the Church of St. John, Dublin.
Ordo St. Gallen.
Ordo Breviarii Indersdorf.
Rituale-Agendum Moguntinum, Rome.
Ordo Augustensis I.
Ordo Augustensis II.
Ordo Wiceburgensis I.
Hereford Breviary.
Sacerdotale Romanum, Eichstätt.
Ordo Wiceburgensis II.
Agenda Bambergensis II.
Ordo Ruswil.
Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis. Coloniae.
Rituale Augsburg.
Kloster Muri Play.
Egerer Spiel.
Frankfurter Dirigierrolle.
Pfarrkircher Passion.
Brixener Passion.
Haller Passion.
Alsfelder Passionsspiel.
York Plays, XXXVII.
Towneley Mysteries, XXV.
Coventriae, Ludus, XXXIII.
Chester Plays, XVIII.
Ancient Cornish Drama.

The question of a possible or probable liturgical source of the Descensus or Harrowing of Hell incident in the cycle plays has been discussed more or less fully by various writers during the last two decades, but with rather indifferent results.²⁸² The most complete investigation of the subject is the monograph of Professor Karl Young.²⁸³ The texts which he there offers in a series conforming to the various stages in the development of the Harrowing of Hell theme in connection with the Easter office, as well as his introductory and concluding remarks, have given a new stimulus to the investigations in this part of the liturgical field. All the more it is to be regretted, then, that Professor Young does not reach a definite conclusion. He leaves the issue in doubt. The conclusion that

²⁸¹ *Harrowing of Hell*, in *Transactions Wisconsin Academy of Sciences*, 16: Part 2.

²⁸² Cf. Young's Bibliography, in *The Harrowing of Hell*, 1, note.

the Harrowing of Hell incident was introduced into the liturgy from extra-ecclesiastical sources, appears to him inevitable; but he hesitates about accepting a result which would conflict so emphatically with the source question in other liturgical plays.

It seems that all the investigators in this field have overlooked two points of special significance in this connection:

1. The importance of the Great Sabbath, the day before Easter, and its liturgy, in their influence on this theme and its development;
2. The evidence of the liturgical element in the later vernacular plays, especially those in the German language.

The Descensus

The position of the Descent into Hell in the church year is a matter of the history of the doctrine and its liturgy. As early as the fourth century, Athanasius, the "Pater Orthodoxiae" (born 293, at Alexandria, died there 373), used the argument of the doctrine of the Descent in defense of the doctrine of the true humanity in Christ. "Die Höllenfahrt wurde als ganz besonderer Glaubensartikel festgehalten und in den Predigten am Sonnabend vor Ostern (In vigilia resurrectionis), den man als Denktage derselben feierte, ausführlich behandelt. Athanasius war der besondere Verfechter dieser Lehre."²⁸⁴ On account of the controversy in regard to the person of Christ, the leaders of the Church laid special emphasis on this important point and the number of sermons on this subject which are mentioned by various historians is proportionally large. Kirkland²⁸⁵ refers to sermons by Eusebius Emesenus, by Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus (end of fourth century), by Prudentius, and others. Hulme²⁸⁶ mentions sermons by Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. Jerome and Augustine were both staunch defenders of the dogma as it had been fixed by the Church, for the first official statement of the "Descent into Hell" was formulated in 359 and 360 at the Synods of Sirmium in Pannonia, Nicae in Thrace, and Constantinople, and a few decades later the doctrine formed, according to the testimony of Rufinus (*Expositio symboli aquileiensis*, xviii), a part of the confession of the church of Aquileia, in northern Italy.

From about the fourth century dates also the position of the Descensus theme in the church year. Since the earliest days, the Great Sabbath had been celebrated with special solemnity.²⁸⁷ At the time of Epiphanius (died 403) the time for the celebration of Christ's Descent was definitely fixed in

²⁸⁴ Alt, *Der kirchliche Gottesdienst*, 573.

²⁸⁵ *A Study of the Anglo-Saxon Poem, the Harrowing of Hell*, 15.

²⁸⁶ *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell*, lxii.

²⁸⁷ See Apostolic Constitutions. Lactantius, *Institutiones*, 7.19. Jerome ad Matthew 25, 6.

the liturgical year as the night before Easter, the midnight services "in vigilia Resurrectionis." In a homily usually ascribed to this great pulpit orator, but also to Polybius,²⁸ the Descensus is described with dramatic vividness. The sermon is entitled **ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΣ εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας καὶ Νικόδημον καὶ εἰς τὴν εἰς τὸν Ἄδην τοῦ κυρίου κατὰ βασιιν μετὰ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος παραδόντα γεγενημένον.**

"What does it mean," he exclaims, "To-day there is great quietness on the earth. What does it mean? Quietness and great peace, vast silence, because the King sleeps, the earth has been filled with fear and has paused, because God incarnate has gone to rest, in the flesh He has died and Hades trembles. God for a short time has slept and awakened those in Hades." The entire narrative of the Harrowing of Hell is carried forward with intense fervor. The people in limbo are enumerated in order: Adam, Eve, Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Daniel, Jeremiah, Jonah, David, Solomon, John Baptist, οἱ προφῆται τε καὶ δίκαιοι ἅπαντες. Their prayers, consisting mainly of passages like Ps. 80:2, 4, Ps. 130:1, are given. Then the descent of Christ, accompanied by angels, arch-angels, etc., is described.

Γαβριὴλ ῥῆσιν τινα ἰσχυρὰν λαμπρὰν καὶ λεοντιαίαν
φωτὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐναντίας δυνάμεις, καὶ λέγει

"Ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν—μεθ' οὗ βοᾷ καὶ Μιχαὴλ καὶ ἐπάροητε πύλας αἰῶνος."²⁹

Other angels take up the command. It is uttered for the second, for the third time. There is confusion in Hades. And then comes the climax:

"Ἐκεῖ γὰρ τότε διέκοψε Χριστὸς κεφαλὰς δυναστῶν—ἐκεῖ διήνοιξαν χαλινούς αἰτῶν λέγοντες

Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; Κύριος κραταῖος καὶ δυνατός.
κίριος δυνατός καὶ ἰσχυρός καὶ ἀήττητος ἐν πολέμοις.

There follows the calling of Adam and his companions and finally the liberating of all the fathers from limbo. The remark made concerning this sermon is certainly true. "Huius homilia, quae medi aevi temporibus lectores plurimos habuisse videtur, infinita superest modicum multitudo." The introduction to another sermon, by the same author: **Εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνάστασιν**, discusses the same subject.

The contents of this sermon are given at such length, because it surely is one of the sources, if not the principal one, from which later writers and

²⁸ Published by W. Dindorf.

²⁹ In Psalm 124, 7-12 the LXX has "Ἄρατε πύλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάροητε, πύλας αἰῶνος καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης. Τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης; κύριος κραταῖος καὶ δυνατός, κύριος δυνατός ἐν πολέμοις.

homiletes derived so much of their material. A large part of the later liturgical apparatus has been ascribed to Eusebian sources. The sermon by Eusebius of Emesa, as noted above, was quite as elaborate and perhaps also just as dramatic as that of Epiphanius. The *Sermo Eusebii Episcopi*, used in sections as the lectiones for Easter according to the *Breviarium Monasticum* of Pruefening, twelfth century²⁹⁰ is probably a translation of the work of that author. However, we dare not attach too much importance to this sermon, since it has been stated that the Latin homilies attributed to Eusebius by Gagnaius and Fremy are writings of Western authors.

The case is somewhat similar with the Augustinian homilies on the subject. In "*S. Augustini Episcopi . . . De anima Christi*"²⁹¹ occurs the passage: "Addunt quidam hoc beneficium antiquis etiam sanctis fuisse concessum, Abel, Seth, Noe, et domui eius, Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, aliisque patriarchis et prophetis, ut cum Dominus in infernum venisset, illis doloribus solverentur," and in the Appendix, *Sermo CLX, De Pascha*:²⁹² "Tunc enim Dominus noster Jesus Christus illum tenebrarum et mortis principem colligavit, legiones illius perturbavit: portarum inferni vectes ferreos confregit, omnes justos, qui originali peccato astricti tenebantur, absolvit, captivos in libertatem pristinam revocavit, peccatorum tenebris obcaecatos splendida luce perfudit.—Voces tartari ad adventum Christi. Ecce audistis, quid defensor noster ultionis Dominus libere egisse describitur. (There follows a very spirited and dramatic discussion of the evil spirits regarding the Savior and the purpose of His descent.) Post istas crudelium ministrorum infernalium voces, sine aliqua mora ad imperium Domini ac Salvatoris nostri omnes ferrei confracti sunt vectes: et ecce subito innumerabiles sanctorum populi, qui tenebantur in morte captivi Salvatoris sui genibus obvoluti, lacrymabili eum obsecratione deposcunt, dicentes: Advenisti, Redemptor mundi; advenisti, quem desiderantes quotidie aperabamus Solve, Redemptor mundi, defunctos et captivos inferni. Descendisti pro nobis ad inferos; noli nobis deesse, cum fueris reversurus ad superos" In regard to this sermon, the following note appears in Migne: "Consarcinatus ex Gregorii et Eusebii sententiis. Et quidem hic plura sunt ansulis inclusa, quae minime reperiuntur in manuscriptis, quibus detractis caetera inter se aptius cohaerunt." The apostrophe of the evil spirits is by Migne referred to the Eusebian source, and, if that be true, it is probably taken from the sermon referred to above.

There is another sermon, to which attention has recently been called by Rand.²⁹³ He says that Eusebius of Alexandria is the probable author.

²⁹⁰ Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 934.

²⁹¹ Migne, 33.711.

²⁹² Migne, 39.2059.

²⁹³ *Sermo de Confusione Diaboli*, *Modern Philology*, 2:261-276.

The theme of the Descent is elaborated. The Attollite portas scene is included. The language is dramatic.

While the question of the date of the Gospel of Nicodemus does not materially concern us in this part of the discussion and will have no bearing on the final conclusion, it may be mentioned nevertheless that the time of its appearance is now admitted to be not earlier than the fourth century.²⁹⁴

For the present, the following points stand out prominently for the purpose of our argument: The sermons of Eusebius of Emesa and Epiphanius very probably originated independently of the Gospel of Nicodemus. There is even some evidence for believing that these sermons or their source may have been the material which the author of the Gospel of Nicodemus used. These homilies and others like them were used extensively also as lectiones at the designated time in the liturgical year, during the medieval period. The so-called Augustinian homily on the subject is certainly based, not upon the Gospel of Nicodemus, but upon one of these homilies.

The fact mentioned above, that the day before Easter, the Great Sabbath, was considered the special festival day of the Descensus, and that the doctrine was fully represented in the liturgy of that day, is amply substantiated by the various Breviaries and Missals from the time of Gregory the Great to this day. In the Liber responsalis Sancti Gregorii Magni²⁹⁵ we find in the liturgy of the Great Sabbath:

Sabbato sancto in primo nocturno.

Resp: Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum, volventes lapidem ad ostium monumenti, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud.

After this reference to the Burial and the Setting of the Watch, the liturgy continues—

In secundo nocturno.

Ant: Elevamini, portae eternales, et introibit Rex gloriae

Ant: Credo videre bona Domini in terra

Ant: Domine, abstraxisti ab inferis animam meam.

Ps: Exaltabo te

Vs: Tu autem, Domine, miserere

Responsoria in eodem.

Resp: Recessit pastor noster

Hodie portas mortis disruptit.

In the Sarum Breviary we have, in addition to that:

Resp: Aestimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum. Factus sum sicut homo sine adiutorio inter mortuos liber.

Vs: Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori: in tenebrosis et in umbra mortis.

²⁹⁴ See Herzog-Platt Enzyklopedie, sub voce.

²⁹⁵ Migne, 78:768.

In an old hymn for the day, the passages occur:

Haec nox est, in qua destructis vinculis mortis Christus ab inferis Victor ascendit.
O vere beata nox quae sola meruit scire tempus et horam, in qua Christus ab
inferis resurrexit.²⁹⁶

In the *Liber Sacramentorum* of Gregory the Great the Praefatio in Sabbatho Sancto contains the following reference to Christ:

qui inferorum claustra dirumpens, victoriae suae clara vexilla suscepit, et
triumphato diabolo, victor a mortuis resurrexit.²⁹⁷

This evidence shows conclusively that the doctrine of the Descensus found its public utterance on the Great Sabbath, in the homilies and the liturgy of the day, especially in the last services, which were originally held about midnight, but later brought forward to the afternoon.²⁹⁸

After this preliminary discussion, it will surely not be too daring to assert that the germ of the liturgical Harrowing of Hell play was contained in the liturgy of the Church and had as its nucleus the Tollite portas antiphon. In the absence of accessible earlier plays, the reconstructed type form would probably have the following appearance:

Officiator: Tollite portas, principes vestras, et elevamini, portae eternales.

Chorus: Et introibit rex gloriae.

Diaconus (in figura diaboli): Quis est iste rex gloriae?

Chorus: Dominus virtutum ipse rex gloriae (fortis et potens).

Chorus: Cum rex gloriae infernum debellaturus intraret

Et chorus angelicus ante faciem eius portas principum tolli praeciperet;
Sanctorum populus qui tenebatur in morte captivus voce lacrimabili
clamaverat:

Animae: Advenisti desiderabilis, quem expectabamus in tenebris, ut educeres hac
nocte vinculatos de claustris.

Te nostra vocabunt suspiria,

Te larga requirebant tormenta.

Tu facta es spes desperatis, magna consolatio in tormentis.

The development apparently took place in two ways. In one case, the scene remained a part of the Great Sabbath ceremonies, as we see in the *Ordo* of Ruswil.²⁹⁹ In this instance, the procession which had formerly taken place about midnight, was merely set forward to nine o'clock. In the other case, the nucleus of the Great Sabbath liturgy became the introductory scene of the Resurrection drama and was placed in the new ordines just before Matins on Easter morning. This was undoubtedly due to the powerful dramatic appeal of the story. Most of the extant rituals show the later development of this form. A brief review of the accessible liturgical texts will show the correctness of these statements.

²⁹⁶ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 361. Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, 2:303.

²⁹⁷ Migne, 78-91.

²⁹⁸ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 361.

²⁹⁹ *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 18.459.

The earliest forms of the complete liturgical scene are contained in the ordines for the Depositio or the Elevatio Crucis, or both. At times a part of the later Visitatio marks the end of the Harrowing of Hell scene. The Benedictine Ordinal of the Nuns of Barking, first decade of the fifteenth century, dated from 1363-1376³⁰⁰ begins with a Depositio Crucis:

Resp: Ecce quomodo moritur justus

Ans: In pace in idipsum

Ans: Caro mea

Resp: Sepulto domino

Then follows the Ordo de Festivitate Paschali with procession and complete directions for acting.

In primis eat domina abbatissa cum toto conuentu et quibusdam clericis figurantes animas sanctorum patrum ante aduentum Christi ad inferos descendentes, et claudant sibi ostium capelle uno crucem deferente incipiens ter antiphonam Tollite portas Qui quidem sacerdos representabit personam Christi ad inferos descensuram et portas inferni dirupturam, et praedicta antiphona unaquaque vice in altiori voce incipiatur et ad quamquam iniectionem pulset cum cruce ad praedictum ostium, figurans dirupcionem portarum inferni, et tercia pulsacione ostium aperiat. Deinde ingreditur ille cum ministris eius. Interim incipiat quidam sacerdos in capella existente antiphonam. A porta inferi erue

Ans: Domine abstraxisti ab inferis

Tunc omnes exeant de capella, id est, de limbo patrum, et cantent sacerdotes et clerici antiphonam

Cum rex glorie

In a Processionale of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, fourteenth century³⁰¹ there is a Depositio Crucis:

Resp: Estimatus sum

Resp: Sepulto domino

Vs: Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori

Chorus: Signatum est monumentum

Vs: Ne forte veniant discipuli

Ans: In pace in idipsum

Ans: Caro mea requiescat

In the Elevatio Crucis, which follows, we have the antiphon Cum rex glorie with the Advenisti desiderabilis, followed by the Eleuamini porte eternelles and Quis est iste rex glorie? repeated twice, and concluded with *Ans:* Domine, abstraxisti ab inferis

In an Ordo of St. Gallen of the early fifteenth century³⁰² there is a Depositio Crucifixi:

Ad Vesperas.

Resp: Ecce quomodo moritur justus

³⁰⁰ Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 926.

³⁰¹ Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 915.

³⁰² Young, *Some Texts* 319.

Vs: In pace factus
Resp: Sepulto domino
Vs: Ne forte veniant

The action is given in full. The Elevatio Crucifixi has:

Ordo ad levandum crucem sanctam in sacratissima nocte pascale.

After the taking of the cross from the sepulcrum the

Vs: Solve cathenatus
Vs: Redde tuam faciem
Ant: Cum rex glorie
Ant: Attollite portas

after which the scene closes in the usual manner.

In an Ordo Breviarii, fifteenth century, Indersdorf, near Munich³⁰³ there is an Elevatio Crucis. At the sepulcrum the psalms are spoken:

Domine quid multiplicati
 Miserere mei Deus
Vs: Exurge, Domine, adiuva

In a Rituale-Agendum Moguntinum, Rome, Vatican, fifteenth century³⁰⁴ there is a Depositio Crucis. The cross is placed in the sepulcrum with the

Resp: Ecce quomodo moritur justus
Vs: In pace factus est locus eius
Resp: Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum
Vs: Ne forte veniant

In the Elevatio Crucis of the same Ordo it should be noted that there is a procession "ad ostium templi quod aptum est." The Tollite portas, repeated twice, and accompanied by as many blows against the door, is followed by the

Ant: Cum rex glorie

In the Ordo Augustensis I of 1487³⁰⁵ there is a Commemoratio Domini Resurrectionis for the elevation of the cross. The first scene is acted outside, "foribus ecclesie clausis." After the *Ps:* Miserere mei Deus, miserere mei . . . , during which the procession moves per ambitum vel per cimiterium, the *Ant:* Cum rex glorie is chanted usque ad ultimam januam. Then comes the Tollite portas with its two repetitions and the remaining dialogue. The scene ends with the second chanting of the Cum rex glorie

In the Ordo Wiceburgensis I of 1490³⁰⁶ we have Sexta feria in Parasceve Ordo Officii. A deposition of the cross is staged.

³⁰³ Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 904.

³⁰⁴ Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 914.

³⁰⁵ Milchsack, 126.

³⁰⁶ Milchsack, 121.

Resp: Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est
Resp: Traditus est ad mortem
Vs: In pace factus est locus eius
Resp: Traditus est ad mortem
Ant: In pace in idipsum dormiam
Ant: Caro mea requiescat in spe
Ant: Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum

In the Ordo Visitationis Sepulcri in Die Pasce, which follows, there is the

Ps: Domine, quid multiplicati

After the

Ant: Ego dormiui et sompnum cepi ,

the cross is taken from the sepulcrum and during the return to the choir, the

Ant: Cum rex glorie is sung "submissa voce."

The Quem quaeritis follows at once, but there is no Tollite portas scene.

In the Hereford Breviary of 1505³⁰⁷ we find an Ordo Sabbato Sancto in Vigilia Paschae. The time is given as "post meridiem noctem ante matutinas." After the *Ant:* Cum rex glorie"submissa voce, ut magis lamentacionem et suspiria representet," there follows: Eleuamini "ad ostium sepulcri." The command and answer, with the necessary action, are given three times, after which the cross is taken from the sepulcrum.

In the Sacerdotale Eichstätt I of 1560³⁰⁸ the Harrowing of Hell scene is enacted at the door. The Attollite portas is given three times, but there is no answering Diabolus, the "duo diaconi" that had remained in the church, instead respond directly with the Quem quaeritis.

In the Ordo Wiceburgensis II of 1564³⁰⁹ we find a Depositio, In feria sexta parasceves.

Vs: Ecce quomodo moritur justus
Resp: Et erit in pace memoria eius

After the depositing of the cross, there follows the

Resp: Sepulto domino
Resp: Ponentes milites qui custodirent eum
Vs: Ne forte veniant

In the Ordo ad Elevandum Crucem de Sepulcro in Sancta Nocte Paschae, the usual order is found:

Ps: Domine, quid multiplicati
Ant: Ego dormiui et sompnum cepi
Ant: Cum rex glorie

³⁰⁷ Henry Bradshaw Society, 1:324.

³⁰⁸ Lange, 40, 41. Cf. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, 29:246.

³⁰⁹ Milchsack, 133.

During the chanting of this antiphon the sacramentum is placed on the altar. Then follows the procession "ad januas ecclesiae" with the Tollite portas chanted only once, but the blows against the door in the usual number. The scene closes with a verse from the hymn, O vere digna hostia.

In the Agenda Bambergensis of 1587¹¹⁰ there is an Ordo celebrandi commemorationem dominicae resurrectionis in sancta nocte, which presents a very condensed form of Harrowing of Hell and Easter play. After the *Ps*: Domine, quid multiplicati . . . , "aperiatur sepulcrum," and there is a chanted *A*: Surrexit dominus de sepulcro. *Chorus*: Qui pro nobis pendit in ligno. After that follows the Processio, vel per coemeterium, vel per templi ambitum, and the Descensus scene ad januam, with the Tollite portas. It is interesting, in this case, to find an explanation of the liturgical custom: "quomodo Christus dominus post passionem suo ad inferos descensu, eum inferni locum, qui Patrum limbus dicitur: vel quod alibi dicitur, portas aereas, vel vectes ferreos, confregerit, suosque captivos inde liberauerit." *A*: Cum rex glorie The play closes with, O vere digna hostia . . . , Gloria tibi domine, qui surrexisti a mortuis, and Victimae paschali.

In an Ordo of Ruswil¹¹¹ the time is given as "hora nona noctis." The procession passes "per circuitum coemiterij." The Attollite portas with the answering challenge occurs three times. The introductory question by the person representing Lucifer is given in German: Wer klopft an an dieser Porte? The scene closes with the hymn Regina caeli and Christ ist erstanden.

In the Agenda Ecclesiae Argentinensis Coloniae 1590¹¹² there is a Depositio Hostiae:

Resp: Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus

Vs: In pace factus est locus eius

Ant: Caro mea requiescat

Ant: Sepulto domino, signatum est

In the Elevatio Hostiae, we find a condensed Descensus play with

Ps: Domine, quid multiplicati

Ant: Ego dormivi et sompnum

After the corpus is brought back to the choir, the Cum rex glorie . . . , with the Advenisti desiderabilis closes the scene.

In the Rituale of Augsburg 1764¹¹³ the position of the Descensus procession is a very peculiar one, after the Quem quaeritis. In other respects, there is no difference between this and the earlier Tollite portas scenes.

¹¹⁰ Lange, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 29:246.

¹¹¹ Brandstetter, Karsamstagsprozession in Ruswil, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 18:459.

¹¹² Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 911.

¹¹³ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 364.

The three extra texts of the *Depositio* printed by Professor Young in his *Observations on the Origin of the Medieval Passion Play*³¹⁴ show the same responses as the texts quoted above.

After looking over these texts and noting the peculiar responses, versicles, and antiphons, which have absolutely no connection with the Gospel of Nicodemus, it seems somewhat strange that we find the remark, "One is tempted to conclude that in this instance (in the Harrowing of Hell plays) liturgical drama may be an adaptation from vernacular drama."³¹⁵ A careful comparison of the texts outlined above with some of the early rituals and hymnals shows that there is not the slightest reason for assuming that these extended liturgical presentations and plays might have had any other source but the liturgical one. Everything that is contained in them is found in rituals of a very early date. And the fact that the liturgical plays are an outgrowth of the liturgy is accentuated by the peculiarity, in some plays, of giving only the cue words of the liturgical responses.

To begin with the reconstructed type form offered above, Psalm 24 was used in the Church from earliest times for the *Descensus ad Inferos*. The Greek sermon of Epiphanius certainly has it. Aldhelm was familiar with the application. We also have hymns of a very early date which take up the words of this psalm in their application to the *Descensus* doctrine.³¹⁶ The *Cum rex glorie* containing the *Advenisti desiderabilis* is given by Daniel³¹⁷ as a *Canticum triumphale* for Easter. Gautier³¹⁸ refers to it as "*Antiphona in pascha ad processionem*." A comparison of this *Canticum* with the homily of Augustine quoted in part above will immediately force the conclusion that the antiphonal sequence was taken from that sermon or based upon its source. The similarity is so striking that it can not be regarded as merely a casual resemblance or a fortuitous coincidence. "*Hoc canticum verbotenus decerptum ex sermone Augustini*."³¹⁹

If, in addition to this, we consider the remaining individual and chorus parts in the *Descensus* plays, the evidence in favor of purely liturgical origin and development is overwhelming. The material already present in the ordines for the celebration of the *Descensus* was used in the same order as in the *Libri responsales*. The following chart, showing the parts of the fully developed *Descensus* play (*Depositio* and *Elevatio Crucis*) shows the liturgical sources.

Depositio

Estimatus sum cum descendentibus Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori
(Dublin), *Resp sabbato sancto in tertio nocturno*.

³¹⁴ *Publications Modern Language Association*, 25.

³¹⁵ Young, *Harrowing of Hell*, 947.

³¹⁶ Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, 3.365.

³¹⁷ Daniel, 2.315.

³¹⁸ *Les Tropes*, 200.

³¹⁹ Daniel, 2.315.

In pacem in idipsum (Barking, Dublin, Wiceburg I). Ant. vs. sabbato sancto in primo nocturno.

Miserere mei Deus (Augustensis I, Indersdorf). Ps. in mat. laud. Parasceve.

Ecce quomodo moritur (St. Gallen, Moguntinum, Wiceburg II). Resp. sabbato sancto in secundo noct.

This, as well as the following response, is enumerated by Daniel in the list of the antiphons *De defunctis*.¹²⁰

In pace factus est locus eius (St. Gallen, Moguntinum, Wiceburg I, Indersdorf). Vs. Sabbato sancto in secundo noct. Ant. tertio noct.

Sepulto domino, ne forte veniant (Barking, Dublin, St. Gallen, Moguntinum, Wiceburgensis I, Wiceburg II, Indersdorf). Resp. sabbato sancto in primo nocturno. Ant. in Evg.

Recessit pastor noster Resp. sabbato sancto, in secundo noct.

Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est (Wiceburg I, Indersdorf). Resp. secundo noct. in vigilia pasch. Sabbato sancto. Resp. in tertio noct.

Caro mea requiescat in spe (Barking, Dublin, Wiceburg I, Indersdorf). Ant. sabbato sancto in primo nocturno.

Signatum est monumentum (belonging to the *Sepulto domino*) (Dublin, Moguntinum, Wiceburg I, Wiceburg II, Indersdorf). Resp. sabbato sancto in primo noct.

Domine, abstraxisti ab inferis (Dublin). Ant. sabbato sancto in sec. nocturno.

Exaltabo te domine Ps. in sec. noct. in vigil. Pasch.

Elevatio

Domine, quid multiplicati (Wiceburg I, Wiceburg II, Bambergensis, Indersdorf). Ps. sabbato sancto.

Terra tremuit et quievit. Offert. Dom. Pasch. In tertio noct. coena domini.

Exurge domine (Indersdorf). Vs. in laudibus, ad primam, Dom. in Pass. Feria quinta in coena dom.

Ego dormivi et somnum (Wiceburgensis I, Wiceburg II, Indersdorf). Ant. ad noct. vigil. Pasch.

O vere digna hostia (Wiceburg II, Bambergensis), Hymnus paschalis, Daniel 1.88.

Victimae paschali (Bambergensis) Sequentia paschalis, Daniel 2:95.

It is to be expected, of course, that the *Elevatio* and the *Visitatio* should often overlap and that we should find responses such as

Ego sum qui sum Ant. ad noct. Paschae.

Quare fremuerunt Ps. primo noct. Parasc. Ad noct. de vigil. Pasch. In primo noct. feria sexta in Parasceve.,

in the introduction of the *Quem quaeritis*. It is noteworthy in this connection, and strengthens the argument for the liturgical origin of the Church plays, that the texts with their approach to the vernacular apparently discard a great deal of the purely liturgical apparatus and confine themselves to the principal scenes.

¹²⁰ Daniel, 2:331.

Relation to the Gospel of Nicodemus

Before entering upon the discussion of the vernacular and the cycle plays, a brief survey of the Gospel of Nicodemus and its probable influence on the Harrowing of Hell play will help to make our position clear; for we do not deny the possibility or even the probability that the subject matter for the English vernacular plays was, to a great extent, taken from the Gospel of Nicodemus. But we do deny the absolute necessity of such a conclusion for the entire field of the early medieval drama, and hope to uphold our contention that in the German field at least, the Gospel of Nicodemus was a secondary source, even in the later plays, while the earlier ones are based upon liturgical sources only. And in a part of the English field at least the liturgy was also the base.

The Gospel of Nicodemus, originally consisting of two parts, the *Descensus* and the *Gesta Pilati*³²¹, gives an account of the circumstances of Christ's descent into hell and the liberating of the fathers from limbo. The most dramatic part is given by Young³²² in Latin and by Carus³²³ in English. The characters are Christ, Satan and his spirits, Isaiah, Simeon, John the Baptist, Adam, Seth, David. At the coming of Christ a bright light falls into Hades, causing consternation among the evil spirits, but great rejoicing among the captive just. There is a discussion between Christ and Inferus, while the saints discuss the prophecies concerning Christ. Then comes the *Tollite portas* scene, at the end of which the patriarchs and prophets are liberated and taken with Christ to glory, while the evil spirits lament.

In the English translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus, this part of the narrative is told in stanzas 108-126.³²⁴ The poetical translation follows the Latin text very faithfully, as may be seen from the passage:

3e princes, I bid 3e opin wide,
3owre endles 3ates here,
3e king of blis now in sall glide.

This poem dates from the first half of the fourteenth century, "not far from the beginning of the fourteenth century."³²⁵ Long before this time the *Descensus* story had shown a definite influence upon the poetry of England. There are fragments of a Harrowing of Hell poem by Cynewulf.³²⁶ There is a prose translation, whose date is fixed as the first half

³²¹ Tischendorf, *Frangelia apocrypha*, 368; Hulme, *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*; Wulcker, *Evangelium Nikodemi*; Helm, Hesslers *Evangelium Nikodemi*, *Beiträge*, 24:85-185; Young, *Harrowing of Hell*.

³²² Young, 890-1.

³²³ *History of the Devil*.

³²⁴ Hulme, 104.

³²⁵ Hulme, xxi.

³²⁶ Wulcker, *Das Evangelium Nikodemi*, 12.

of the eleventh century.³²⁷ It is quite complete and exact. The Tollite portas is translated: "Ge ealdras, tonymad þa gatu and up áhebbad þa écan gatu, þat mæge in gan se cyng þas écan vuldres." There is another metrical version dating back to about 1300 (page 19). Then there is, of course, the *Piers Plowman* with its Descensus story and above all the early vernacular drama of the middle of the thirteenth century.³²⁸ In the earliest manuscript, the Digby manuscript, the *dramatis personae* are not given, but in the Auchinleck manuscript the personae are inserted: Adam, Eve, Abraham, David, John the Baptist, Moses.

In France the influence of the Gospel of Nicodemus is apparent even at an earlier date than in England.³²⁹ The *Speculum historiale* of Vincentius Bellovacensis of the thirteenth century contained a complete account of the Descensus, and later translations exerted an even more definite influence.

So far as Germany is concerned, Wülcker makes the assertion that the poem, "Anegenge," of the twelfth century is based upon the Gospel of Nicodemus (page 34). That his claim lacks the foundation which would seem necessary, appears from the poem, "Die Urstende," of the beginning of the thirteenth century (about 1205). The author is Konrad von Heimesfurt, and the Descensus is described in lines 1489-2162. In line 1698 we read:

Cum rex glorie Christus:
Do der eren chunic Christ,
der aller tugende orthab ist,
ze der helle chomon solte³³⁰

It will suffice, for the present, to call attention to the "Cum rex glorie Christus," and to state that a German poem of the year 1465, entitled "Von der Beschaffung diser Welt bisz auf das jungst gericht gereymt,"³³¹ which has the Harrowing of Hell incident, is undoubtedly based upon liturgical sources. The first complete metrical translation of the Gospel of Nicodemus in German was that by Hessler, written about 1300 to 1330, containing the characters, Adam, Isaiah, Simeon, John the Baptist, David, Habakkuk, Micha.³³²

German Descent Plays

In looking over the extant and accessible German plays in the vernacular, the evidence of the liturgical origin from the liturgical element

³²⁷ Wülcker, 13.

³²⁸ Hulme, 2, Kirkland, *A Study of the Anglo-Saxon Poem: The Harrowing of Hell*; Mall, *The Harrowing of Hell*.

³²⁹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2, 130.

³³⁰ Hahn, *Gedichte des 12 und 13 Jahrhunderts*. Wülcker, 34-5.

³³¹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 2, 130.

³³² Helm, Hesslers *Evangelium Nikodemi*, *Beiträge*, 24:85-185.

present is overwhelming. In the fragment of the Kloster Muri play, called by Bartsch,³³³ "Das älteste deutsche Passionsspiel," we have the scene,

Diabolus: Wer mac noh dirre kuenic sin?

Jesu: want ih cerstoere uih als ein her
mit gewalt iuwer tor
tuont uf die porten witen,
old ih stoze si danider

Animas (canunt): Advenisti desiderabilis

We have shown above that the antiphon Cum rex glorie, with the Advenisti desiderabilis was an ancient response based on a homily of Augustine. Its presence both in the poem, "Die Urstende," and in the Kloster Muri play certainly argues for the liturgy as at least the principal, if not the only, source of this part of the narrative.

§ In the Egerer Spiel³³⁴ we have, after the fastening of the seal and the setting of the watch:

Gabriel: Terra tremuit et quievit

Exurge, quare obdormis, domine. Exurge

Salvator canit et surgit

Ego dormivi et sompnum

Deinde vltorius canit et surgit totaliter

Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum.

And then finally follows

Christus: Tollite portas

In the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle of the Frankfurter Passionsspiele, about 1350-1380³³⁵ Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus bury Christ, chanting: Ecce quomodo moritur justus When the watch marches out to the grave "persone cantabunt:" Sepulto Domino In the Tollite portas scene, the usual sequence of events is retained. At the opening of the gates of Hades "Adam et alie cantabunt: Advenisti desiderabilis After leading the souls to heaven, "dominica persona" returns to the tomb, the men of the watch are terrified by the thunderous noise, and the Lord appears risen. The scene closes with: Terra tremuit et quievit It should be noted here that the Frankfurter Passion of 1493, the Alsfelder of 1501, and the Heidelberger of 1513 are based on the Frankfurter Dirigierrolle.

In the Pfarrkircher Passion of 1486³³⁶ two angels at the tomb chant in unison: Exurge, quare obdormis, domine Salvator, awakening in the tomb, chants: Ego dormivi et sompnum cepi Then

³³³ *Germania*, 8:273.

³³⁴ *Germania*, 3:267.

³³⁵ Froning, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*, 363.

³³⁶ Wackernell, *Alldeutsche Schauspiele aus Tirol*, 199.

follows the Tollite portas scene in the usual form. The patriarchs and prophets mentioned are Adam, Ysaïas, Symeon, Johannes Waptista, Seth, David. After the breaking down of the portals, Salvator chants: Venite, benedicti patris mei The fathers answer joyfully: Advenisti, desiderabilis The American and the Bozener Passion agree, with only slight divergences, with the above text.

In the Brixener Passion³³⁷ the earthquake is followed by the responses: Terra tremuit et quievit Then the angels chant at the tomb: Exurge, quare obdormis The remaining part corresponds to the Pfarrkircher Passion. In the Haller Passion³³⁸ there is a stage direction: Post hoc canunt rignum: Ecce quomodo moritur justus There is also a Harrowing of Hell scene in the Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel.³³⁹

In the Alsfelder Passionsspiel of 1501,³⁴⁰ mention of which was made above, the part of "Christi Höllenfahrt" is introduced with the procession ad infernum and the chant: En rex glorie usque advenisti desiderabilis. Dein animae infernales cantent advenisti The Tollite portas scene follows, during which the En rex glorie is repeated. Several unusual responses are then introduced:

Quare rubrum est ergo indumentum tuum
Torcular calcani solus, de gentibus non erat
Alpha et O

These antiphons were used during the Lenten season and on Easter day (*Sarum Processional* and *Breviary*).

The souls enumerated in this case are Adam, Eva, Symeon, Johannes, Daniel, Moyses. Salvator vocat Venite benedicti patris mei Tunc animae infernales Miserere, miserere populo tuo The condemned souls are told: Amen, amen, dico vobis, nescio vos The hymn follows: Jesu, nostra redemptio.

From these plays, the evidence in favor of the liturgical origin of the German vernacular plays would seem to be incontrovertible. Every one of the responses which forms the framework of the plays may be traced to the liturgy of Easter time. In addition to those shown in the chart above, the following may be added:

Terra tremuit et quievit In tertio noct. in cena Dom.
Venite, benedicti patris mei Ant. Feria quarta in Pasch.
Exurge, domine Feria quinta in cena domini, in secundo nocturno.
Quare rubrum A common response in regard to the suffering and victory of Christ. Daniel 2:365.
Regina caeli jubila Easter hymn. Daniel 2:365.

³³⁷ Wackernell, 421.

³³⁸ Wackernell, 339.

³³⁹ Germania, 4 338.

³⁴⁰ Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, 3.477.

Even if one should want to argue that the Descensus subject matter in the German field was taken from the Gospel of Nicodemus, the fact that the entire plot is carried by the liturgical responses and that the Descensus story was a tradition in the Church outside of the Pseudo-Gospel would more than counterbalance the argument.

English Harrowing of Hell Plays

The case is somewhat different in the English field. In the Sadilers Play of York we have the characters Adam, Eua, Isaiah, Symeon, Johannes Baptista, Moyses, David. The scene Attollite portas, principes . . . is there, closed with the prayer of David:

Ne derelinquas, domine,
Animam meam (in) inferno.

I have not been able to find this verse in the Pseudo-Gospel, but it is found in the liturgy, Ant. sabbato sancto in primo noct.

In the Incipit extraccio animarum of the Towneley cycle we have a version almost identical with that of York. There is only an additional opening hymn, "Salvator mundi."

In the Cookes Plaie of Chester it is expressly stated that the "pagina" is "secundum euangelium Nicodemi."

In the Coventry Mysteries the story is divided between the "Descent into Hell" and "The Resurrection," and seems to be based entirely upon the Gospel of Nicodemus and earlier vernacular versions, as the presence of the "Harde gatys have I gon" would seem to indicate.

In the Cornish Drama Resurrexio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi³⁴¹ the entire structure, as well as the subject matter, makes it evident that the Gospel of Nicodemus was the source of the play in question.

So far as the English cycle plays, then, are concerned, it appears that there is little, if any, liturgical influence perceptible. The fact that in every case but the Cornish the command for the opening of the gates of Hades is in the Latin, as well as the Ne derelinquas, domine . . . in the York and Towneley collections, might be cited to show the last faint evidence of liturgical influence in the dramaturgical methods of the time, since plays had existed long before that age, in which *every* part of the Descensus scene had been translated. I am inclined to believe that the structure of the York and Towneley plays in this case is liturgical and that this outline was amplified with subject matter from the Gospel of Nicodemus or similar sources.

The case is similar in France, as the Mystere de la Passion de nostre seigneur, par Jehan Michel, of the end of the fifteenth century³⁴² shows.

³⁴¹ Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama*.

³⁴² Wülcker, 60-1.

Summing up the conclusions in regard to the Descensus plays, we have the following: Under the influence of the Descensus doctrine, whose public confession was fixed for the Great Sabbath, a liturgy with expressed dramatic character was collated for that day. This liturgy and the sermons upon which it was based were the source of the Latin plays of the Descensus and furnished the material for them. If there was no special Descensus play, the material of the liturgy was apparently used as an introduction to Easter plays. There is nothing in the liturgical plays that makes the argument that they were derived from extra-ecclesiastical sources, a serious, much less a cogent one. There is something in all vernacular plays, except the Cornish, that points to liturgical source or influence. The German plays clearly show the liturgical influence, the English and French in a very slight degree, if at all.

THE RESURRECTION SERIES,
INCLUDING THE ASCENSION AND THE PENTECOST PLAYS

List of Texts Examined

Lange, *Lateinische Osterfeiern*.
Young, *Harrowing of Hell*.
Young, *Some Texts of Liturgical Plays*.
Young, *A Contribution to the History of Liturgical Drama at Rouen*.
Young, *Origin of the Easter Play*.
Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana*.
Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*.
Du Meril, *Origines du theatre moderne*.
Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama*.
Waterhouse, *Non-Cycle Mystery Plays*.
Froning, *Frankfurter Passionsspiele*.
Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*.
York Plays, XXXVIII-XLIV.
Towneley Mysteries, XXVI-XXIX.
Ludus Coventriae, XXXV-XL.
Chester Whitsun Plays, XIX-XXII.
Cornish Resurrexio.
Digby Resurrection.

No part of the field of the liturgical drama has been studied so thoroughly as that of the Resurrection plays. The most prominent investigators of the Latin Easter plays are Milchsack, W. Meyer, Lange, Cady, and, lastly, Professor Young. Lange in his "Lateinische Osterfeiern" discussed the growth of the Quem quaeritis from the simplest trope to the most advanced stage of the liturgical play, and accompanied his charts with concise, but very clear commentary. Doctor Young in one of his latest articles, "The Origin of the Easter Play,"³⁴³ presents a history of the Quem quaeritis trope and reviews all the additions to the trope and the liturgical plays based upon the trope while this was still associated with the church services. He begins by discussing the origin of the Quem quaeritis trope, saying that its composition was probably suggested by the passage John 18:4-8, in the reading of the Passio Magna on Good Friday,³⁴⁴ and that its text was suggested by various responses of the Easter liturgy. The authorship of the trope may be quite definitely ascribed to Tutilo of St. Gall, about 900 A.D. The early development of the trope is marked by

³⁴³ *Publications Modern Language Association*, 29:1.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 25:309.

liturgical additions and extensions, such as: *Hora est, psallite*. Later on, there are additions to the text which contain dramatic possibilities, such as *Alleluia, resurrexit dominus; En, ecce, completum est; Ite, nuntiate in Galilaeam*, and others. And finally there was an addition of dramatic setting and action, one person representing the angel, and two the Maries, the white dalmatics being used as appropriate dresses, etc. Professor Young prints a text from Brescia (page 47) as presenting a completely dramatized form of the *Quem quaeritis* trope in its attachment to the Easter Introit. Dr. Young's article is accompanied by so much evidence in the form of texts and references that even one not familiar with the liturgy will have no difficulty in following the line of argument. With the aid of this article and the monograph of Lange mentioned above, it will be possible to present the discussion of the *Officium Sepulcri*, at least in the Latin field, in the form of a brief summary.

The idea of Milchsack that the *Quem quaeritis* trope originated at the suggestion of the Vulgate text has been shown by Lange³⁴⁵ and by Professor Young (page 7) to be incorrect. The probability is that the entire story would have been used at once, if taken from the Vulgate text, instead of the dialogue form of the trope type, which shows such a marked divergence from the Vulgate text, exhibiting, at the same time, a decided similarity to the service text. The earliest form of the *Quem quaeritis* trope was evidently the following:

*Quem quaeritis?
Jesum Nazarenum (crucifixum).
Non est hic,
Surrexit.*

This type form, with the addition of either *Quis revolvat nobis ab ostio*, or *Venite et videte* from the service, or of both, is found in approximately sixty texts, printed by Milchsack, Du Meril, Lange, and Professor Young. The following is a condensed list of the additions in the development of the *Officium Sepulcri*, all of which are taken either from the liturgy or from liturgical material (sequences and hymns.)

Cito euntes dicite
Ad monumentum venimus gementes
Cernitis, O socii, ecce
The sequence *Victimae paschali*.
Currebant duo simul
The Mary Magdalene scene: *Mulier, quid ploras Noli me tangere*
Dicant nunc Judei
Surrexit pastor bonus
Surrexit dominus de sepulcro

The texts containing one or several of these additions have been printed

³⁴⁵ Page 19.

by Du Meril,³⁴⁶ Milchsack,³⁴⁷ Lange,³⁴⁸ and Young,³⁴⁹ and number approximately two hundred. And this number, in spite of its size, does not contain any duplicates.

Transition Plays

The Officium Sepulcri in the transition stage retained the customary amount of prominent liturgical material. In a Latin-German play, *Ludus de nocte pascha*,³⁵⁰ we find the following Latin tags:

Prima Maria: Heu nobis internas mentes
 Sed eamus unguentum emere
 Quem quaeritis
 Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum
 Non est hic quem quaeritis
 Venite et videte
 Ad monumentum venimus gementes
 Mary Magdalene scene.
 Victimae paschali.

In an Easter play of the Appearance to Mary Magdalene of Munich,³⁵¹ the following occurs:

Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia
 Planctus, in German: We der maere
 Jam processit dominica persona, que stans cantat ad Mariam Mulier quid
 ploras
Maria: Domine, si tu sustulisti
Dom: Maria.
Mar: Rabboni, quod dicitur magister
Dom: Prima quidem suffragia

In the *Ludus immo exemplum Dominice resurrectionis* of Munich,³⁵² we find the following arrangement:

Cantatis matutinis in die Pasche omnes persone ad ludum disposite sint parate
 in loco speciali secundum suum modum et procedant ad locum ubi sit
 sepulcrum.
 Primum veniat Pilatus et uxor sua cum magnis luminibus, militibus precedentibus,
 assessoribus sequentibus
 Ingressus Pilatus
Pontifices: O domine recte meminimus
 The Jews request a watch of Pilate; the setting of the watch.
 Tunc veniant duo angeli, unus ferensensem flammeum et vestem rubeam et
 crucem in manu

³⁴⁶ *Origines latines du théâtre moderne.*

³⁴⁷ *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern.*

³⁴⁸ *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern.*

³⁴⁹ *Some Texts* . . . ; *Harrowing of Hell*; and elsewhere.

³⁵⁰ Davidson, *Studies in the English Mystery Plays*, 25.

³⁵¹ Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*, 144.

³⁵² Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*.

Surge victor rex glorie qui hodie

Dom. persona: Ego dormivi et sompnum

All: Resurrexit victor ab inferis

The coming of the three Maries. The Apotecarius.

Planctus: Sed eamus et ad eius

Heu nobis internas mentes

Iam percusso

Quis revolvat

The fragment is evidently the remainder of a complete Easter morning play.

Even in the *Officium Resurrectionis* of the Shrewsbury Fragments²⁶³ the same material is in evidence, in spite of the fact that only the part of the third Mary has been preserved.

III Maria: Heu Redempcio Israel

Heu Cur ligno fixus clavis

All three: Iam, iam ecce, iam properemus

Et appropinquantes sepulcro cantent:

O Deus quis revolvat nobis

III Maria: Surrexit Christus, spes nostra,

Praecedet vos in Galilaeam.

How completely the composers of the church and transition plays depended upon the liturgy for their material, may be seen from the following chart, which shows the liturgical source of all notable additions to the *Quem quaeritis* trope in the complete Easter play.

(a) Ego sum qui *Ant.* ad noct. Paschae.

(b) Quare fremuerunt *Ps.* in primo noct. Parasceve. Ad noct. de vigil Paschae.

(c) Ego dormivi *Ant.* ad noct. de vigil. Paschae.

(d) Surrexit pastor bonus qui posuit *Resp.* feria quinta Pascha

(e) Surrexit dominus de sepulcro *Vs.* in matut. laudibus Pasch. *Vs.* Feria secunda, feria quinta Pasch.

(f) Surrexit dominus vere et apparuit *Vs.* in matut. laudibus. *Vs.* in feria secunda. *Ant.* in *Evg.* feria secunda Pasch.

Consurgit Christus tumulto *Hymn.* Easter.

(g) Maria M. et Maria J. cum transisset *Resp.* ad noct. vigil. Pasch.

Una sabbati *Ant.* octav. Pasch.

(h) Valde mane una sabbatorum *Resp.* ad noct. vigil. Pasch. *Ant.* in matut. laudibus Pasch.

Te lucis auctor *Hymnus paschalis.* Daniel 1:258.

(i) Jesu nostra redempcio *Hymnus de ascensione.* Daniel 1:63. *Hymnus paschalis,* D'Avranches, *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis.*

(j) Heu nobis internas mentes

Heu redempcio Israel

Heu cur ligno fixus

Heu cur fuit ille natus

Heu quantus est dolor noster

See above, in Chapter on Planctus.

²⁶³ Manly, *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama.* Waterhouse, *Non-Cycle Mystery Plays.*

- (k) Ingressus Pilatus Ant. Meyer, *Fragmenta burana*.
- (l) Ardens est cor nostrum Ant. ad vesp. feria quinta Pasch.
- (m) Quis revolvat Ant. in matut. laudibus. Pasch.
 Venite, venite, adoremus dominum Ant.
 Hortum praedestinatio Sequence, twelfth century, Einsiedeln, Du
 Meril.
- (n) { Quem quaeritis in sepulcro Ant. ad vesp. de Evg. sabbato sancto.
 Resp. ad noct. vigil. Pasch. Ad vesp. Pasch.
 Jesum Nazarenum same as previous one.
 Non est hic surrexit Ant. in matut. laudibus Pasch. Ad vesp.
 Pasch.
 Venite et videte Ant. ad vesp. de Evg. Sabbato sancto. Resp.
 ad noct. vigil. Pasch. Ant. ad vesp. Pasch.
- (o) Cito euntes same as the foregoing.
- (p) { Cernitis, o socii, ecce lintheamina
 Ad monumentum venimus
 En angeli aspectum vidimus
 Cum venissem ungere
 Dolor crescit tremunt praecordia
 En lapis est vere depositus
- Composed after suggestion of Easter story.
- (q) Currebant duo simul Ant. oct. Pasch.
 Surrexit enim sicut vos Ant. oct. Pasch.
- (r) Angelus domini desc Ant. ad vesp. in Evg. sabbato sancto. Resp.
 ad noct. vigil. Pasch.
- (s) Nolite timere vos Ant. ad vesp. in Evg. sabbato sancto. Resp.
 ad noct. vigil. Pasch.
 Dicant nunc Judei Vs. in Pasch.
 Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur Ant. ad complet.
 feria quarta. Pasch.
- (t) Victimae paschali Sequentia paschalis. Daniel 2:95.
- (u) { Mulier, quid ploras, quem quaeris? { Vs. in matut. laudibus Pasch. Feria
 Tulerunt dominum quinta Pasch. Resp. ad noct. vigil.
 Domine si tu Pasch.
 Rabboni.
 Noli me tangere
 Christus vivens laniatur, Ergo clausa Hymn.
- (v) Alleluia. Resurrexit dominus, surrexit leo fortis, Christus filius Dei
 Resp. feria quarta Pasch.
 Ergo die exultemus astra, solum, mare Sequentia paschalis. Daniel
 2:13.
 Regina caeli jubila Easter hymn. Daniel 2:365.
 Deus in adiutorium Ant. Complet. in vigil. Pasch.

As will be seen from the chart, the majority of the speeches are taken directly from the liturgy. Most of them are found in the *Liber responsalis* and the *Liber antiphonarius* of Gregory the Great.³⁵⁴ That the Easter service was hardly changed in the following centuries, appears from the *Sarum Breviary*, where the same responses will be found in practically the

³⁵⁴ Migne, 78.

same places. All of this proves with great definiteness, that the Latin Officium Sepulcri, including the Planctus, the Visitatio, the Hortulanus, and the Apostle scene, grew out of the liturgy and even took most of the speeches word for word from the liturgy.

Peregrini

The Peregrini, with its extension of the Incredulity of Thomas, did not have the basis of a trope, but was taken from the responses of the liturgy directly. The story of the Pilgrims of Emmaus is carried in full in the antiphons of FERIA secunda in hebdomada Paschae:³⁵⁵

Qui sunt hi sermones quos confertis
 Respondens autem unus Tu solus peregrinus
 Quibus ille dixit: Quae?
 Et dixerunt de Jesu Nazareno
 Et incipiens de Moysi
 Et coegerunt eum dicentes: Mane nobiscum
 Et intravit cum illis
 Mane nobiscum, quoniam advesperascit
 Nonne cor nostrum

With this story material and the many impressive and dramatic passages in the Easter services, it was a most natural thing for the composers of church plays to adopt the suggestion. The type form of the Peregrini is the following:

Hymn: Jesu nostra redemptio
Dominus: Quae sunt hi sermones
Cleophas: Tu solus peregrinus
Dominus: Quae?
Discipuli: De Jesu Nazareno
Dominus: O stulti et tardi corde
Discipuli: Mane nobiscum
 Alleluia.
 Nonne cor nostrum

An examination of the available texts yields the following results:

Office de Voyageurs, Ordinarium secundum usum Ecclesiae Rothomagensis, fourteenth century,³⁵⁶ contains the type form as given above and closes with the Victimae paschali.

Officium Peregrinorum, Rouen, thirteenth century,³⁵⁷ shows no marked divergence from the type form.

Officium Peregrinorum, Rouen, fifteenth century,³⁵⁸ has a much more

³⁵⁵ Migne, 78:771.

³⁵⁶ Du Meril, 117.

³⁵⁷ Young, *Modern Philology*, 6:212.

³⁵⁸ Young, 222.

elaborate setting, but the text has remained practically unchanged, containing the type form and the sequence, as outlined above.

In a *Versus de Pelegrinis*, of Vich, eleventh century,³⁵⁹ the Hortulanus scene of Easter morning is combined with the Peregrini, which includes all the speeches up to *De Jhesu nazareno*. The play ends with a *versus*:

Ubi est Christus meus dominus
En ecce completum

In an *Officium Peregrinorum* of Madrid, *Troparium-Prosarium*, twelfth century,³⁶⁰ the play is expanded in the latter half, after Emmaus has been reached:

Mane nobiscum
Mihi longum iter restat
Sol uergens ad occasum suadet
Et intravit cum illis

After the revelation and the *Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat*, a speech is introduced which really belongs to the evening apparition:

Pax vobis, ego sum. Nolite timere

The play closes with *Surrexit dominus*.

In the *Mystere de l'Apparition a Emmaus* of Orleans³⁶¹ the scene at Emmaus is expanded with portions from speeches of Christ contained in the Easter liturgy:

Pacem relinquo vobis
Isti sunt sermones quos dicebam vobis

Then follows the appearance on the evening of Easter day:

Pax vobis, ego sum, nolite timere
Quis est iste, qui venit de Edom
Pax vobis
Iste formosus in stola sua
Pax vobis
Quid turbati estis et cogitationes
Videte manus meas et pedes meos
Palpate et videte, quia spiritus
Accipite spiritum sanctum

Adam novus veterem duxit ad astra

There is, finally, the Incredulity scene:

Thomas, vidimus dominum.
Nisi videro
Pax vobis.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Deus dominus et illuxit nobis.
Haec est dies quam fecit dominus

³⁵⁹ Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:306.

³⁶⁰ Young, 329.

³⁶¹ Du Meril, 120.

Thoma fer digitum
 Dominus meus et Deus meus!
 Quia vidisti me, Thoma Data est mihi omnis potestas Non vos
 relinquam orphanos Vado et veniam ad vos Et
 gaudebit cor vestrum
 Euntes in mundum universum Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit.
 Salve festa dies!

There will be occasion farther on to speak of the fact that these speeches are taken from antiphons and service parts, not only of Eastertide, but also of the Ascension and Pentecost season.

The *Peregrini* and *Incredulity* play printed by Meyer³⁶² is very complete, containing the Emmaus Disciples, the Appearance on the Evening of Easter Day, the Incredulity, and finally a scene in which Mary, the mother of Jesus, Maria Jacobi, and Maria Salome appear.

I

Surrexit Christus et illuxit
 Qui sunt hii sermones quos confertis
 Tu solus peregrinus
 Que?
 Nos loquimur de Jesu Nazareno
 O stulti et tardi corde

 Clerus. Et coegerunt cum dicentes
 Mane nobiscum
 Tunc vadat cum discipulis
 Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat Aevia.

II

Tunc Jesus appareat discipulis
 Pax vobis, ego sum Aevia. nolite timere Aevia.
 Clerus cantent. Thomas qui dicitur
 Dixerunt alii discipuli: Vidimus dominum, aevia.
 Tunc Jesus monstrat manus et pedes et cantet:
 Videte manus meas
 Christus resurgens a mortuis

III

Tunc apostoli conferentes
 Vidimus dominum. aevia.
 Thomas respondet illis: Nisi mittam digitos
 Tunc appareat Jesus secundo
 Pax vobis, ego sum
 Et clerus cantet Post dies octo januis clausis
 Tercio apparet. Pax vobis
 Tunc dicit ad Thomam Mitte manum tuam
 Dominus meus et deus meus. aevia.

³⁶² *Fragmenta burana*, 136.

Jesus dicit: Quia vidisti me

Tunc apostoli simul cantent ymnum Jesu nostra redemptio

Hoc finito producat mater domini; cum ea duo angeli portantes sceptrum, et
cum ea Maria Jacobi et Maria Salome:

Egredimini, filie Syon, regem Salomonem in dyademate

Vox turturis audita est in turribus Jerusalem

Respondet Maria Veniat dilectus Dominus Commedi Mar.

Talis est dilectus Dominus. Tota pulchra

This last part reminds one very strongly of the service for the Mary festivals, which will be considered in a special chapter on the Mary plays, where this incident will also be discussed.

In the Officium Peregrinorum of the Shrewsbury Fragments³⁶³ the part of Cleophas has been preserved, while the Incredulity is indicated as about to begin.

Feria secunda in ebdomada pasche discipuli insimul cantent:

Infidelis incursum populi

Fugiamus jhesu discipuli

Cleophas: Et quoniam tradiderunt eum summi sacerdotes

Dixerunt etiam se visionem angelorum vidisse

Mane nobiscum, quoniam aduesperascit. Alleluya.

Chorus: Gloria tibi, Domine, Qui surrexisti a mortuis

Chorus: Frater Thomas, causa tristitie,
Nobis tulit summa leticie!

The *Mysterium of Tours*³⁶⁴ is the most complete Easter text printed till now, and includes all the events from the Setting of the Watch to the Incredulity.

The setting of the watch by Pilate.

The three Maries. Omnipotens pater altissime The Planctus.
Mercator.

Continuation of the Planctus.

Quis revolvat

Quem quaeritis The usual form to the Euntes dicite discipulis.

The soldiers report the resurrection to Pilate.

Planctus of Mary Magdalene.

Mulier quid ploras Quia tulerunt

A second Quem quaeritis Viventem cum mortuis

Remorse of Peter. Tristes erant apostoli

Mary Magdalene. Jesu nostra redemptio

The appearance on the evening of Easter day. Pax vobis Nolite
timere

Incredulity of Thomas. Thomas mitte Dominus meus

Victimae paschali.

Te deum laudamus.

³⁶³ Manly, xxxiii.

³⁶⁴ Milchsack, 97.

This is certainly a very elaborate attempt at cycle building, showing that the liturgical plays were made the basis, and that their tags always occupied very prominent positions. The independent additions from the Gospels and Pseudo-Gospels were made subordinate to the rest.

The liturgical source of the various speeches and hymns in the *Peregrini* and *Incredulity* plays may be seen from the following table:

Peregrini

- Hec dies Gradule. Resp. feria quarta Pasch. Ad vesp. in Evg.
 (a') In exitu Israel Ps 113. Feria secunda Pasch.
 (b') Jesu nostra redemptio Hymn for Easter, D'Avranches, *Liber de officiis eccl.*
 (c') { Qui sunt ii sermones }
 { Tu solus peregrinus } Ant. feria secunda Pasch.
 { Quae?
 { De Jesu Nazareno }
 (d') O stulti et tardi corde Ant. oct. Pasch.
 (e') Mane nobiscum, quoniam Ant. feria secunda Pasch.
 Sol occasum expetit Hymn, feria secunda. Pasch.
 (f') Nonne cor nostrum Ant. oct. Pasch.
 Victimae paschali Sequentia paschalis, Daniel 2.95.

Appearance on Easter Evening

- (g') Pacem relinquo vobis Resp. in noct. Asc.
 (h') Isti sunt sermones quos dicebam Ant. oct. Pasch. Ant. feria tertia in Evg. Pasch.
 (i') Surrexit dominus et apparuit Petro. All. Ant. feria secunda Pasch.
 (j') Pax vobis, ego sum, nolite timere Ant. oct. Pasch. Resp. Dom. oct. Pasch.
 (k') { Quis est iste qui venit } Is. 63:1 ff. Of Christ's victory. *Sarum*
 { Iste formosus in stola } *Processional.*
 Surrexit dominus de sepulcro Ant. oct. Pasch.
 (l') Quid turbati estis et cogitationes ascendunt Ant. oct. Pasch.
 (m') { Videte manus meas } Ant. oct. pasch.
 { Palpate et videte }
 (n') Accipite spiritum sanctum Ant. in Evg. Pentec. Sabbato in Pasch. Ant. in Evg.
 Adam novus veterem duxit ad astra Apparently a sequence for Easter season.

Incredulity

- (o') { Thomas vidimus dominum }
 { Nisi videro in manibus eius } Addition from the Gospel lesson(?).
 { Pax vobis, benedictus qui }
 { Thoma, fer digitum }
 (q') { Dominus meus et deus meus } Ant. sabbato in albis, ad vesp.
 { Quia vidisti, Thoma }
 (r') Data est mihi omnis potestas Ant. oct. Pasch.
 (s') Non vobis relinquam orphanos Resp. in sec. noct. vesp. Asc.

- (t') Vado et veniam ad vos Ant. in Evg. Pentec.
 (u') Et gaudebit cor vestrum Resp. vs. in noct. Asc.
 (v') Euntes in mundum universum Ant. oct. Pasch.
 (w') Qui crediderit et baptisatus fuerit Resp. in primo noct. vigil.
 Pentecost.
 (x') Salve festa dies Elegiac poem, Du Meril, page 120.

These antiphons and responses, which were used so freely for the liturgical plays, also furnish the connecting link between the Easter season proper on the one hand and the Ascension and Pentecost plays on the other. The Gospel readings during the time from Easter till Pentecost were taken mainly from John 14 and 15. A good many of the antiphons and versicles of this season are therefore also from these last speeches of Jesus. And they are the very ones that are found in the cycle plays, and their presence can hardly be explained in any other way but that the liturgy was their basis and principal source.

Ascension and Pentecost

It is quite true, of course, that the Quem quaeritis trope was adapted for the Ascension service.³⁶⁵ But this trope apparently never developed into a liturgical play. There were also special Ascension plays, one of which, that of St. Gall, was introduced with the Incredulity of Thomas.³⁶⁶ Alt³⁶⁷ describes some Ascension day customs which might be remnants of liturgical plays, since the antiphons Ascendit deus in jubilatione Ascendo ad patrem meum et ad patrum vestrum . . . , Viri Galilaei, quid adspicitis seem to indicate such an origin. Similar customs during the week of Pentecost may be explained in the same way.³⁶⁸ There may even have been Easter cycles in the Latin or transition periods which included the Ascension and Pentecost. But so far as the English cycles are concerned, no other conclusions seems to be justified but this, that they show definite liturgical influence.

The service for Ascension, according to Gregory the Great³⁶⁹ includes principally the following antiphons:

From the Gospel lesson:

- (a'') { Eduxit dominus discipulos suos foras in Bethaniam
 { Post passionem suam per dies quadraginta apparens eis
 { Et nubes suscepit eum ab oculis eorum, All.
 { Viri Galilaei, quid adspicitis

³⁶⁵ Young, *Publications Modern Language Association*, 24:309. Creizenach, 69.

³⁶⁶ Creizenach, 250.

³⁶⁷ *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 378.

³⁶⁸ Page 385.

³⁶⁹ Migne, 78:780.

From John 17:

- (b'') { Pater manifestavi nomen tuum hominibus quos dedisti mihi
 Pater sancte, serva eos in nomine tuo
 Pater sancte, haec est vita aeterna
 Pater juste, mundus te non cognovit

From the last speeches and other sources:

- (c'') Ascendens Christus in altum, captivam duxit
 (d'') Nisi ego abiero, Paracletus non venit
 (e'') Non turbetur cor vestrum
 (f'') Ascendit Deus in jubilatione
 (g'') Ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum
 (h'') Non vos relinquam orphanos

These are only the principal antiphons (most of which are repeated), given here to show the scope of the service material.

In the liturgy for Pentecost we find a similar condition. The entire story is there carried in the responsoria (Col. 782 ff):

- (i'') { Dum complerentur dies Pentecostes
 Et subito factus est de caelo sonus
 Repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto
 Apparuerunt apostolis dispertitae
 Et coeperunt loqui variis linguis
 Facta autem hac voce convenit
 Nonne omnes ecce isti qui loquuntur

In addition to this, there are many antiphons taken from the last speeches of Christ.

- (j'') Iam non dicam vos servos, sed
 (k'') Accipite spiritum sanctum
 (l'') Ite in orbem universum et
 (m'') Signa eis qui in me credunt
 (n'') Audistis quia dictum est: Vado et venio

The significance of this table will appear in the discussion of the Pentecost plays of the cycles.

Having now given the liturgical basis of the various plays in the complete Easter cycle and traced the development of the individual plays in the Latin and transitional stages, we are in a position to judge as to the presence of the liturgical element in the cycle plays, in both the German and English fields.

German Easter Plays

The oldest German Passionsspiel, of the beginning of the thirteenth century³⁷⁰ contains an Ungentarius and a Hortulanus scene, and the Quem quaeritis is quite plain:

³⁷⁰ *Germania*, 8:273.

ir guoten wip, wen suchent ir
alsus vrno in disem grabe?
Jesum von Nazaret
der ist hiute erstanden
von des todes banden(n).

In the liturgical poem *Biblische Geschichte von der Beschaffung diser Welt*, etc.,⁷¹ the Resurrection, the Ascension, and Pentecost are included, in the *Friedberger*⁷² only the Resurrection.

In the *Egerer Spiel*,⁷³ structure and subject-matter were taken over from the liturgical field.

Maria S: Omnipotens pater altissime
Secunda M: Amisimus enim solacium
Tercia M: Sed eamus unguentum emere
Prima M: Heu nobis internas mentes
Secunda M: Jam percusso
Tercia M: Sed eamus et ad eius
Chorus: Maria Magdalena et alia Maria (g).
Scene of Medicus.

The Visitatio.
Hymn: Jesu nostra redempcio (i).
Maria M: Cum venissem ungere mortuum . . .
En lapis vere est depositus . . . (p).
Hortulanus.
Maria M: Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia (p).

Jesus: Ergo noli me tangere (u).
Victimae paschali (t).
Peter and John run to the grave.
Incredulity of Thomas.
Christ ist erstanden.

The *Künzelsauer Frohnleichnamsspiel* of 1497⁷⁴ contains only the Resurrection. In the *Frankfurter Dirigierrolle* of about 1350⁷⁵ the following are the liturgical tags:

Easter Morning

Heu quantus est noster dolor
Heu nobis internas mentes
Jam percusso ceu pastore
Sed eamus et ad eius
Omnipotens pater altissime
Amisimus enim solacium
Sed eamus ungentem emere (j).

⁷¹ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Allertum*, 2:130.
⁷² *Zeitschrift für deutsches Allertum*, 7:545.
⁷³ *Germania*, 3:267.
⁷⁴ *Germania*, 4:338.
⁷⁵ *Proning*, 336.

Mercator

Heu quantus est noster dolor (j).
 Dum transisset sabbatum (g).
 Quis revolvat nobis lapidem
 Quem quaeritis
 Jhesum nazarenum
 Non est hic, quem quaeritis
 Venite et videte (n).
 Ad monumentum venimus gementes (p).

Mary Magdalene

Cum venissem ungere mortuum
 En lapis est
 Dolor crescit, tremunt praecordia (p).
 Heu redemptio Israel (j).
 Mulier, quid ploras
 Tulerunt dominum
 Maria! Rabbi!
 Ergo noli me tangere (u).
 Victimae paschali (t).
 Surrexit dominus de sepulcro (e).
 Currebant duo simul (q).

 Pax vobis (j').
 Ite nuntiate fratribus meis
 Surrexit dominus et apparuit Petro (i').

Peregrini

Qui sunt hii sermones
 Tu solus peregrinus (c').
 Mane nobiscum (e').
 Nonne cor nostrum (f').
 Surrexit dominus vere

Thomas

Pax vobis (j').

Ascension

Summi triumphus re
 Pacem meam do vobis Resp. Asc. (g').
 Ascendo ad patrem meum Ant. in Evg. Asc. (g'').
 Concedit jubilans
 Viri Galylei Ant. Asc. (a'').

In the Pfarrkircher Passion³⁷⁶ there is a Visitatio, a Hortulanus, and an Incredulity, and the evidence for the absoluteness of liturgical influence is particularly strong:

³⁷⁶ Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*, 181.

Heu nobis internas mentes (j).
 Omnipotens pater altissime
 Amisimus enim solacium
 Sed eamus et ad eius
 Quis revolvat nobis (m).
 Quem quaeritis, o tremule mulieres
 Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum
 Non est hic quem quaeritis
 Venite et videte locum (n).
 Ad monumentum venimus gementes (p).
 Mulier, quid ploras
 Domine, si tu sustulisti (u).
 Heu redemptio Israel (j).
 Maria. Raby.
 Sancte Deus, Sancte fortis, Sancte et immortalis, miserere mey!
 Ergo noli me tangere (u).
 Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum
 Mitte manum tuam et cognosce loca clavorum. All. Et noli
 Misi digitos meos in fixuram clavorum (q').
 Victimae paschali (t).
 Currebant autem (q).
 Cernitis, o socii (p).

In the Haller Passion³⁷⁷ there is an Easter morning scene, opened with Heu nobis internas mentes (j). In the Brixener Passion³⁷⁸ there is a Visitatio with Jesu nostra redemptio (i), and an Incredulity, which closes with Victimae paschali (t). In the Nachspiel aus der Pfarrkircher Passion there is a Peregrini.

In all these cases, the liturgical basis is so apparent, since the liturgical play speeches either serve as stage directions and cues, or they furnish, in translation, the framework of the plot.

English Easter Plays

In the English plays, the dependence upon the liturgy and the liturgical plays is far less marked, and yet, the liturgical element is present even here and may be found without effort. In the Chester cycle, the Resurrection is based, to a great extent, upon the liturgical model.

Tunc cantabunt duo angeli Christus resurgens a mortuis, et Christus tunc resurget.
 After the soldiers make their report to Pilate venient mulieres plorantes ac Jesum quaerentes:

Alas! now lorne is my likinge
 Alas! wayle awaie is wente
 Alas! nowe marred is all my mighte (j)
 — — — — —

³⁷⁷ Wackernell, 277.

³⁷⁸ Wackernell, 353.

Sister, which of us everye one
Shall remove this grate stonne (m).

Primus Angellus: What seeke you, women, here
With wepinge and unlikinge cheare?
Jesus, that to you was deare,
Is risen, leeve you me. (n).

Secundus Angellus: Be not afrayde of us in feare,
For he is wente, withouten were,
As he before cane you lere,
Fourth into Gallalye. (s).

Peter and John ambo simul concurrent (q).

Primus Angellus: Woman, why wepeste thou soe, aye?

Maria Magdalene: Sonne, for my Lorde is taken awaie (u).

In the Pilgrims of Emmaus the following speeches show the liturgical origin.

Jesus: Good men, if your will were,
Tell me in good mannere
Of your talkinge that in feare,
And of your woe witte I woulde. (c').

Cleophas: A! syr, it seemes to us heare,
A pylgrem thou arte, as doth appeare; (c').

Jesus: What are those? tell me, I thee praye.

Lucas: Of Jesus of Nazareth, in good faye (c').

Jesus: Ah, fooles and feible, in good faye,
Late to beleewe unto Godes lawe (d')

Lucas: Sir, you shal in all mannere
Dwell with us at our suppere;
For nowe nighte approcheth nere,
Tarye here for anye thinge (e').

Lucas: A borning harte in us he made (f').

At Jerusalem

Andreas: That he is risen that deade was,
And to Petter appeared hase.
This daye appeartlye. (i').

Jesus: Peace amonge you, brethren fayer!
My feete, my handes you maye see (j').

Incredulity of Thomas

Jesus: Peace, my brethren, on and all,
Come heither Thomas; to thee I call: (q').

And see my handes and my feete

Thomas: My God! my Lorde! (q').

In the Ascension, the liturgical element is again very prominent:

Pax vobis, ego sum, nolite timere (j').
Spiritus quidem carnem et ossa non habet

There follows a speech of Jesus whose contents agree with that of the Responsoria immediately preceding Ascension and from Ascension to Pentecost, inclusive.

Jesus: Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum, Deum meum et Deum vestrum. Alleluja. (g'').
Primus angelus: Quis est iste qui venit de Edom (k').
Minor angelus: Iste formosus in stola sua (k').
Jesus: Ego qui loquor justitiam
Chorus: Et vestimenta tua sicut calcantis
Jesus: Torcular calcavi solus
Compare above, the Orleans Emmaus play.
Quartus angellus: You men that be of Gallalye,
Therupon nowe marvayll ye (a'').

In the Emission of the Holy Ghost, we have the following cues and liturgical tags:

Johannes quidem baptizavit aqua, vos autem }
Non est vestrum nosse tempora } (d'' and e'').
Accipietis virtutem supervenientis }
Hymn: Veni creator spiritus

Tunc Deus emittit spiritum in specie ignis, et in mittendo cantent duo angeli
antiphonam, Accipite spiritum sanctum, quorum remiseritis (k'').

In spite of the fact that this play is built up in such an independent manner, such tags as the last one, which are chronologically wrong according to the sequence of the Gospel story, but occur in the liturgy for Pentecost, show the persistence of the liturgical element.

In the Ludus Coventriae, the liturgical evidence is not quite so strong, but can still be recognized. In the Three Maries, the Quem quaeritis question is lacking, but the angel says to them after the Lament:

Wendyth fforthe, 3e women thre,
Into the strete of Galyle;
3our Savyour ther xul 3e se (o).

Hic currunt Johannes et Petrus simul (q).

In Christ Appearing to Mary there is a Lament:
ffor hertyly sorwe myn herte dothe breke (p),

whereupon the angelus asks her:

Woman, that standyst here alone,
Why dost thou wepe, and morne, and wepe so sore? (u).

Jhesus: Maria. Mary M: A! mayster and Lorde to the I crave (u).

In the Pilgrims of Emaus there is a Peregrini and an Incredulity, with the speeches of the liturgical plays in their order, not in the sequence of the Gospel story. In the Ascension and the Descent of the Holy Ghost no liturgical influence is openly apparent. The plays are short and were probably composed roughly after the Gospel account.

In the Towneley Mysteries, the liturgical influence is very pronounced. In the Resurrexio Domini we find the following:

Tunc cantabunt angeli Christus resurgens.

Lament of the Three Maries

Alas! to dy with doyll am I dight

Alas! that I shuld se hys pyne

Alas! how stand I on my fete (j).

Primus angelus: Ye mowrnyng women in youre thoght,
here in this place whome haue ye soght? (n).

Mary Magdalene: Jhesu that vnto ded was broght (n).

Secundus angelus: Certys, women, here is he noght,
Come nere and se (n).

Primus angelus: he is not here, the sothe to say,
The place is voyde ther in he lay;
The sudary here se ye may
was on hym layde;
he is risen and gone his way,
as he you sayde.

Secundus angelus:
he shalbe fon in galale (o).

Lament of Mary Magdalene

Jhesus: Woman, why wepys thou? be styll!
Whome sekys thou? say me thy wyll! (u).

In the Peregrini, structure and speeches agree closely with the liturgical plays:

Jhesus: what wordes ar you two emange,
That ye here so sadly gang? (c').

Cleophas: Thou art a man by the alone

Lucas: Art thou a pilgreme thi self alone
And wote not what is comen and gone,
within few days?

Lucas: yes for jhesu of nazarene,
That was a prophete true and clene (c').

Jhesus: ye foyles, ye ar not stabyll!
where is youre witt, I say? (d')

Lucas: Dwell with us, sir, if ye myght,
ffor now it waxes to the nyght (e').

In the Thomas of Indie the following incidents occur:

Mary Magdalene relates story of the resurrection.
Peter's lament over his denial.

Appearance of Jesus on Easter evening.

Incredulity of Thomas putt thi hande in my syde. (q').

In the *Ascensio Domini*, responses and antiphons from the liturgy of the Easter season and Ascension are freely used in the speeches:

If ye luf me, for-thi ye shuld be glad of this doying,

ffor I go full securly to my fader, heuyns kyng (d'').

The which without lesyng is mekill more than I

philippus: lord if it be thi will,

shew vs thi fader, we the pray

Ihesus: philipp, that man that may se me

he seys my fader full of myght. (n'').

& sic ascendit, cantantibus angelis Ascendo ad Patrem (g'').

primus angelus: Ye men of galylee,

wherfor meruell ye? (a'').

The York cycle agrees in part with the Towneley. Of the relation of the Shrewsbury Resurrection Office to the York and Towneley plays, Professor Manly says: "The character of the York play on the appearance of Christ to Magdalene suggests that it was once connected with a play very similar to this, especially when the nature of the corresponding Towneley play is considered."³⁷⁹

In the Resurrection, there is the traditional form:

Lament of the Three Maries

Alas, to dede I wolde be dight

Alas, þat I schulde se his pyne

Alas, who schall my balis bete (j).

And who schall now here of vs three remove þe stone? (m).

Ang: 3e mournand women in youre þough,

Here in þis place whome haue 3e sought? (n).

i Mar: Jesu, þat to dede is brought, Oure lord so fre. (n).

Ang: Women, certayn here is he noght, come nere and see. (n).

He is noght here, þe soth to saie,

þe place is void þat he in laye,

þe sudary here se 3e may, Was on hym laide.

He is resen and wente his way As he 3ou saide.

He schall be founne in Galile In flesshe and fell,

To his discipilis nowe wende 3e and þus þame tell.

In the Appearance to Mary Magdalene the liturgical influence is also apparent:

The Lament of Mary

Allas, in þis worlde was neuere no wyght (p).

Jesus: Thou wilfull woman in þis waye,

Why wepis þou soo als þou wolde wede

Whome sekist þou þis longe daye (u).

³⁷⁹ *Specimens of Pre-Shaksperian Drama*, xxxi, note.

Maria: Swete sir, yf þou hym bare awaye (u).

Jesus: Goo awaye, Marie, and touche me noȝt (u).

In the Travellers to Emmaus we have the following:

Jesus: What are þes meruailes þat ȝe of mene (c').

ii Pereg: Why art þou a pilgryme and haste bene

At Jerusalem and haste þou noght sene (c').

Jesus: A! fooles, þat are fauty and failes of youre feithe (d').

i Pereg: We praye ȝou, sir pilgrime, ȝe presse noȝt to passe (e').

In the Incredulity of Thomas, the appearance of Jesus is introduced with the same speech as in the liturgy:

Pees vnto yowe euermore myght be,

Drede you noȝt, for I am hee. (j').

Thomas: Till þat I see his body bare

And sithen my fyngir putte in thare within his hyde (o').

Jesus: Putte forthe thy fingir to me nowe (o').

Thomas: Mi lorde, my god, full wele is me (o').

In the Ascension, the antiphons of the season show liturgical basis:

Jesus prays John 17.

To my Fadir now yppe I wende,

And your Fadir þat me doune sente. (g'').

But for I speke þes wordis nowe

To you, youre hartis has heuynes

And butte I wende, comes noght to yowe

þe comfortoure of comfortelles (d'').

i Ang: ȝe men of the land of Galile

What wondit ȝe to heuene lokand? (a'').

The same is true of the Descent of the Holy Spirti. And here a good many of the tags are even in Latin:

Cum venerit paraclitus Docebit vos omnia.

Nisi ego abiero þe holy goste schall not be sene. (d'').

Et dum assumptus fuero,

þanne schall I send ȝou comforte clene.

Hymn: Veni Creator spiritus

Tristitia impleuit cor vestrum,

Sed conuertetur in gaudium

Et erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit dominus,

effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem. (i'').

In the Digby Mystery of the Resurrection, the Easter morning scene is complete according to the liturgical form:

Lament of the Three Maries (j)

Angelle: Whom seke ye, women sanctifiede? (n).

Three Maryes: Jhesus of Nazareth crucified (n).

Angelle: He is risen, he is not here; (n)

To his discipules he shalle apere,

In Galilee they shalle hym fynd!

Mulier quid ploras? Woman why wepis pou soo? (u).

Peter's Lament over his denial

Mulier, quid ploras? Quem quaeris? (u).

Woman, why wepis thou? whom sekes thou thus? (u).

Maria: Rabboni!

Noli me tangere (u).

Tunc hae tres cantant id est Victime paschali totum (t).

Tunc ibit praecurrens Johannes dicit (q).

Tunc cantant omnes, scilicet, Scimus Christum (t) vel aliam sequentiam aut
ympnum de Resurrectione

Even in the Cornish Resurrexio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, the evi-
dence of liturgical influence is not lacking:

The Resurrection

Cantant angeli: Christus resurgens

The Three Maries

I know whom ye seek

Mary Magdalene

Noli me tangere (u).

Incredulity of Thomas

Disciples of Emmaus

What is your grief that you are sad?

Tu peregrinus es

Ye are foolish and dupes (d').

Stay with us, o dear companion, (e')

For it is almost dark and late

Nonne cor nostrum ardens erat (f')

Ascension of Christ

Jes: In comfort to you I will leave the Holy Ghost. (e'').

Phil: Dear Lord through thy great grace Disclose to us the Father

Jes: Whoever hath seen me, Surely he should see my Father

First Angel: Who is that with god head good, Who hath come so swiftly to heaven,
Clothed in red?

Third Angel: Who is it that came from the earth in red.
Like blood his head and shoulders? (k')

Fourth Angel: He from Edom hath come (k').

Fifth Angel: Who canst thou be, when thy clothing is so red

Eighth Angel: Why are thy garments red (k').

A summary of conclusions for the entire Resurrection series, including
the Ascension and Pentecost plays, yields the following:

The origin and development of the various parts is:

Visitatio, from liturgy to trope, to liturgical play

Hortulanus, from service to play

Planctus (*Cf.* the chapter on the Planctus)

Apostle scene, from service to incident in play

Peregrini, from service to play

Appearance in Evening, from service to incident in play

Incredulity of Thomas, from service to play or incident

Ascension, from service to play

Pentecost, from service to play

The Visitatio, the Hortulanus, the Peregrini, and the Incredulity of Thomas alone appear in the transition stage; in the formation of cycles the simpler forms of the play were used, those showing liturgical influence strongest. There were vernacular Ascension plays, but these were probably ignored in the building up of cycles, the liturgical structure being followed in the plot, as is also the case in the Pentecost play.

The liturgical element persisted in most cases in the vernacular plays and cycles, even to the extent of retaining Latin tags.

THE MARY PLAYS

THE BARRENNESS OF ANNA, MARY'S PRESENTATION, MARY'S BETROTH-
MENT, DEATH OF MARY, APPEARANCE TO THOMAS,
ASSUMPTION (AND CORONATION)

List of Texts Examined

The Mary incident in the Incredulity play of the *Fragmenta burana*.
Ludus Coventriae, VIII, IX, X, XLI.
York Plays, XLV, XLVI, XLVII.

It may be a matter of conjecture with a strong tinge of probability that there was at one time "a very elaborate Virgin play which must undoubtedly be ecclesiastical in origin," as Miss Swenson states,³⁸⁰ if the plays in question are investigated merely from the standpoint of meter and structure; but the conjecture becomes almost a certainty, when the question of the liturgical element in the Mary plays is considered. The Salutation, the Visitation, and the Purification have been discussed above, in the Christmas series. And leaving out of account, for the present, the question whether the original Virgin play was a single unit play or a series of incidents from the life of Mary more or less loosely connected, we turn to the question whether the scenes were ecclesiastical or liturgical in origin.

The festivals of Mary which come into consideration here are the following:

The festival of St. Anne, the mother of Mary, on July 26, celebrated since the thirteenth century;

The festival of the nativity of Mary (Festum nativitatis Beatae Mariae Virginis), on September 8, celebrated since the middle of the seventh century, fixed as a great festival with octave by the Council of Lyon (1245);

The festival of the presentation of Mary (Festum praesentationis B. M. V.), on November 21, celebrated in the Orient since the eighth century, 1372 at Avignon (Philip of Maizieres), 1464 in Saxony, since 1585 a general festival

The festival of the betrothal of Mary (Festum desponsationis B. M. V. cum S. Josepho), on January 23, celebrated quite generally since 1546, although known before.

The festival of the conception of Mary (Festum conceptionis B. M. V.), on December 8, celebrated since 1070 in England (Anselm of Canterbury), since fourteenth century quite general.

The festival of the assumption of Mary (Festum dormitionis et assumptionis Mariae), on August 15, celebrated since eleventh century, with octave.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ *An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae*, 35.

³⁸¹ Cf. Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 59-74.

The liturgy for these festivals is, in general, very elaborate, as the following extracts from the Sarum Breviary will show. On the festival *Annae Matris Mariae* the antiphons, in rhymed form, as well as the lectiones, give the full apocryphal account of Joachim and Anna.

Ant: Pater praecelsae virginis,
Joachim erat nomine,
mater Anna quae nobilis
regali fulsit semine.

Ant: Annos quoque plurimos
ducunt in conjugio
steriles atque tristes
sub legis opprobrio.

Ant: Exprobrat hunc pontifex
Joachim quod sisteret
infecundus cum fecundis
seque eis jungeret.

Ant: Joachim ex opprobrio
e templo tristis exiit,
nec ad domum vel uxorem,
sed ad pastores transiit.

Ant: Joachim et conjugii
angelus apparuit,
dolentesque nimium
dulciter compescuit

Ant: Preces vestrae sunt acceptae,
habebitisque filiam,
per quam Deus magnifice
praestabit cunctis gratiam.

Lectio V: Vivebant itaque ambo socialiter, et erant in conjugio legaliter in urbe Galilaea Nazareth nomine: unde oriundus Joachim pater erat, mater tamen Anna Bethleemita ortu fuerat. Et quoniam iusti coram Deo et hominibus erant: templo Dei e; peregrinis indigentibus duas portiones suarum facultatum tribuebant, reservata in suos usus tertia, unde temporaliter vivebant. Verum permanente utroque sterili per annos circiter viginti, templum Dei diebus certis frequentabant, ut dignum Deo fructum carnis suae, hoc est, filium vel filiam mererentur accipere: factoque voto quod obsequio divino manciparent quantuncumque sobolem divino dono generarent. Post haec Joachim, audito improprio a pontifice Ysachar sibi facto, videlicet quod esset infecundus, nullusque de eo genitilis esset in Israel fructus, mox tristis confususque abiit, nec domum vel uxorem, sed pastores suos adiit. At divina pietas consolans eius angustias: angelico aspectu simul et affatu promisit ei virginem praecipuam de se fore nascituram. Denique ut dignitas mirabilis significaretur evangelizatae sobolis, claritas etiam mirabilis comitata est angelum lucis: vel idcirco cum luce ingenti Joachim patri angelus apparuit, quia lumen mundi processurum de luce, id est, de nascitura virgine declaravit

Lectio V: Nascitur ergo de legitimo et valde sancto conjugio sanctissima virgo

In the service text *In Nativitate Beatae Mariae Virginis*, the liturgy treats almost exclusively of the nativity and genealogy of Mary. The

stirps Jesse and the radix Jesse are not only referred to, but discussed at length, the lectiones including a homily of the Venerable Bede on Matt. 1:1-16. There are also many antiphons from the Song of Solomon.

Ant: Ibo michi ad montem myrrhae et ad colles libani, et loquar sponsae meae, tota speciosa es proxima mea et macula non est in te: veni a Libano sponsa, veni a Libano, veni, venies et transibis

Ant: Quam pulchra es et quam decora carissima in deliciis, statura tua

The offices In Praesentatione Beatae Mariae Virginis and Desponsationis B. M. V. are not included in the Sarum Breviary. The apocryphal account was, however, known very well in the Church and included in many service books, as the account of Gueranger shows.

The liturgy In Festo Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis is again very extensive and comprehensive. The antiphons, for the greater part, are again taken from the Song of Solomon.

Ant: Tota pulchra es, amica mea

Ant: Anima mea liquefacta es

Ant: Qualis est dilectus tuus

Vs: Quae est ista quae ascendit per desertum sicut virgula fumi . . .

R: Sicut cedrus exaltata sum in Libano

Ant: Assumpta est Maria in coelum

And the lectiones tell the story of the Transitus Mariae in full. The principal ones are taken from Jerome's "Epistola ad Paulum et Eustochium" (Col. 687 ff.) and contain accounts of the service which John the Apostle rendered to Mary, of the assembly of the apostles with Mary, of her assumption, and of the splendor of her heavenly state.

The Mary Plays

If we now compare the Mary plays with this material from the liturgy, the presence of the liturgical element is almost always discernible, while in some cases it becomes prominent. There is a little incident added to the Incredulity play printed by W. Meyer,³⁸² which is significant in this connection.

Hoc finito producat mater domini; cum eo duo angeli portantes sceptrum et cum ea Maria Jacobi et Maria Salome:

Egredimini, filie Syon, regem Salomonem in dyademate

Vox turturis audita est in

Respondet *Maria:* Veniat dilectus *Dominus:* Commedi *Mar:*

Talis est dilectus *Dominus:* Tota pulchra

The passage is very much like the most favorite passages from the Song of Solomon, used on the Mary festivals, and shows that the Mary incidents were very early connected with the liturgical praises of Mary.

³⁸² *Fragmenta burana*, 136.

In a poem *Marien Himmelfahrt*, fifteenth century,³⁸³ the following liturgical tags appear:

Ave spes mundi Maria Hymn.
 Tota pulcra es, amica mea Ant. in assumptione B. M. V.
 Recordare virgo mater
 Regina coeli laetare Ant. Hymn.
 Benedictus venter tuus in quo Christum portasti. Cap.
 Gaude, Maria, in te verbum caro factum est Ant. Cap.
 Ave, praeclara maris stella Hymn.

Creizenach³⁸⁴ mentions the following Mary plays:

Presentation of Mary, page 169, note 3;
 Provençal play of the marriage of Mary and the birth of Jesus, page 152;
 Toulon play, including childhood of Mary, her betrothal, birth of Jesus, three kings, and slaughter, page 152;
 French mystery of the assumption, page 206;
 Innsbruck play of the assumption and the destruction of Jerusalem, page 236;
 Lowdutch play of the joys of Mary, page 344;
 Spanish play of the assumption, page 352, note 1.

In the English field, the Coventry cycle has four Mary plays, the York cycle only three. In the Coventry Barrenness of Anna several very evident liturgical tags appear:

There they xal synge this sequens 'Benedicta sit beata Trinitas'

This sequence has various forms and was used frequently, although it is primarily a sequence for the festival of the Trinity. It should be noted also that a part of the Trinity service was used on the festival of Anna, the mother of Mary.

Adjutorium nostrum in nomine
 Qui fecit coelum et terram
 Sit nomen Domini benedictum
 Ex hoc nunc et usque
 Benedicat vos divina
 Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen.

This series of antiphons and versicles is used often, especially on festival days.

Exultet coelum laudibus Hymn.

It has been noted above that the story of the play is carried in the lectiones for St. Anne's Day, all of the principal characters: Anna, Joachim, Ysachar, pastores, and angelus being included, and the sequence of incidents identical.

In the Coventry play of Mary in the Temple, the psalms recited by Mary while ascending the temple steps are the Psalmi graduum (Ps. 109-133):

Ad dominum cum tribularer
 Levavi oculos meos in montes
 Laetatus sum in hiis

³⁸³ Printed by H. v. Fallersleben, *Germania*, 15:369.

³⁸⁴ *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*.

Ad te levavi oculos meos
 Nisi quia Dominus erat in nobis
 Qui confidunt in Domino
 In convertendo dominus captivitatem
 Nisi Dominus aedificaverit domum
 Beati omnes qui timent Dominum
 Saepe expugnaverunt me
 De profundis clamavi
 Domine, non exaltatum
 Memento, Domine, David
 Ecce, quam bonum
 Ecce nunc, benedicite Dominum

There was a "Hymnus de XV Psalmis graduum" as early as the ninth century,³⁸⁵ with which the verses of Mary seem to agree quite closely. And since we have, in addition to this, the hymn *Jhesu corona virginum*, which was used on Mary and Virgin festivals, it seems quite likely that the *Festum Presentationis Mariae* had its influence also in England.

In the Coventry play of Mary's Betrothment, the liturgical tags are in the stage directions only:

Veni creator . . . Hymn.
 Benedicta sit beata Trinitas Sequence.
 Benedixisti Domine, terram tuam (in text) Ant.

But if we consider the fact that the *Festum Desponsationis* may have influenced also the English services at this time, and that the generations of David which are introduced are apparently based upon the genealogy lectiones, which are so prominent in the offices for the Mary days, the liturgical influence seems very prominent, also in this play.

In the Coventry play of the Assumption of the Virgin, the principal events that are mentioned in the antiphons of the festival and spoken of at length in the lectiones, are found as the structure of the play. The liturgical element in general is very strongly in evidence.

Veni tu, electa mea, et ponam
 Quia concupivit rex speciem tuam.
 Paratum cor meum
 Haec est quae nescivit thorum
 Beatam me dicent omnes
 Veni de Libano, sponsa mea
 Ecce, venio

Most of these speeches are antiphons from the festival of the Assumption, as noted above.

Quae est ista quae ascendit de deserto Ant.
 Exiit Israel de Egipto, domus Jacob de populo barbaro. Allelujah!
 Facta Judea sanctificatio eius, Israel potestas eius, Allelujah!
 Assumpta est Maria in coelum Ant.

³⁸⁵ Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 393.

In the York play of the Death of Mary the sequence of incidents is the same as in the liturgy for the festival of the Assumption, and there is one liturgical tag, the antiphon *Ave regina caelorum* at the end of the play. The antiphon *Ave regina caelorum*, *Ave domina angelorum* is used both during the octave of the Nativity and during that of the Assumption of Mary.

In the York play of the Appearance of Our Lady to Thomas, there is both liturgical text and music.

Surge, proxima mea, columba mea

Veni de Libano, sponsa mea

Veni electa mea Quia concupivit rex speciem tuam

These antiphons were very well known from the Mary festivals and virgin days, when they were continually used. Miss Smith has an extensive note on this addition to the play.³⁸⁶ Her remarks confirm the contention as to the persistence of the liturgical influence, even after the ecclesiastical plays had been withdrawn from the church.

In the York play of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin, liturgical influence appears in the enumeration of the joys of Mary: the conception of Jesus, his birth, the resurrection, the ascension, her own assumption. In the liturgy, the number of joys is given either in a series of five or of seven. The exact sequence varies in different breviaries.³⁸⁷ Rock³⁸⁸ quotes from a *Liber Festivalis* of Rouen, naming the joys as they are found in this play:

The fyrste whan she conseyved of the holy ghoost

The ii was whan she was delyvered of her sone

The iii joye was on ester day whan her sone rose from dethe to lyfe

The ini joye when he styed up to heaven

The fyfthe joye was in her assumption

The entire story, including the Coronation, is found in the liturgy.³⁸⁹

With so much material at hand, the following conclusions are possibly not too daring: The original Mary plays grew up on the festivals, especially on the festival of Anna, the mother of Mary, (the Purification), and the Assumption. Even with the addition of extra-liturgical material the liturgical element retained its prominence, in structure as well as in speeches, cues, and other tags. The individual plays, either by the joining of two or more, or by the expansion of a single one, sometimes grew into Mary cycles, either one of her entire life, or two, in which the early part of her life and the events connected with her marriage were taken together, and similarly those of the end of her life—her death, assumption, and coronation.

³⁸⁶ *York Plays*, 524.

³⁸⁷ Alt, *Christliches Kirchenjahr*, 70, 419.

³⁸⁸ Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, 3:236.

³⁸⁹ Alt, 420.

CONCLUSION

That the liturgical element, both as to basis and episodal structure, was predominant in the earliest forms of the medieval drama is, I think, sufficiently demonstrated in the body of this dissertation. The discussion would, however, hardly be considered complete and conclusive unless I also brought forward the probable reason for this peculiarity and thus added a brief chapter on the psychology of the medieval dramaturgical method, cycle construction, and the interrelation of cycle plays.

One of the facts which stands out very prominently in this study is the importance of the tropes, a fact which has, however, been recognized quite fully and discussed at length by Gautier,³⁰⁰ by Professor Young,³⁰¹ and others. The fact upon which the most emphasis is laid in this paper, however, is this,—that the responses, antiphons, and versicles have had an influence upon the early drama to a far greater extent than has been recognized till now. The contention, stated in the introduction, in regard to the liturgical basis and plot construction outlined by the antiphonal tags, is, I think, borne out by the material presented here.

The second fact which establishes the correctness of the theory as stated in the thesis is the evident cyclical idea as expressed in the liturgy and carried out in the service arrangement. The Advent season treats of the coming of Christ in the flesh, in the spirit, and to judgment. And the eschatological subjects are given especial prominence. The Advent season merges into Christmastide, and the story of the Annunciation and Visitation, as well as the various prophetic utterances which reach their culmination in the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon "Contra Judaeos" lead up to the Christmas story itself. Christmastide proper embraces everything from the Vigil of the Nativity to the festival of Epiphany, and includes the Shepherds and the Nativity, the story of the Innocents, the Slaughter, the Lament of Rachel, the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, and also Christ and the Doctors. The last Sundays of Epiphany are somewhat disjoined and are also repeated at the end of the Pentecost or Trinity season. Therefore their influence is negligible. The Septuagesima cycle introduces the Old Testament subjects. It reaches beyond Quinquagesima and overlaps the Ministry cycle, which begins either with the Baptism or the Temptation, and includes the most prominent events in the ministry. The Holy Week has the Passion proper, beginning with the Entry into Jerusalem and ending with the Burial. [The liturgy of the Great Sabbath looks back to the

³⁰⁰ *Les Tropes*.

³⁰¹ *Officium Pastorum: The Origin of the Easter Play*.

Passion cycle, but serves as preparation for the Easter season.] It therefore contains service material which later on proved a connecting link between the two stories. Eastertide was closely linked to Ascension and Pentecost, even by the liturgical colors, much more by the sequence of responses. The Trinity season has no special outstanding feature. The Mary festivals form no cycle, but their antiphons and responses have, to a great extent, the same basis. The suggestion for cycle building is certainly there. The very position of the Purification play in the cycle shows that it was transferred from elsewhere and only the approximate position in the historical narrative chosen. Slight variations of this cycle rule with their reasons have been discussed in the respective chapters.

It may be of interest, finally, to show in tabular form how much liturgical influence may be claimed for the various plays:

Creation, liturgical subject-matter, tags
 Fall of Lucifer, liturgical suggestion and material from lectiones
 Creation of Man, liturgical subject matter
 Fall of Man, liturgical subject matter
 Cain and Abel, liturgical subject matter, liturgical tags
 Noah and the Flood, liturgical subject matter and tags
 Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, liturgical subject matter
 (Joseph and His Brethren, liturgical play based on liturgy)
 Moses and the Exodus, Pharaoh, liturgical subject matter

It is not at all unlikely that there were both single plays and perhaps also cycles of this series, even in Latin, which were based entirely upon the liturgy and even played on the respective Sundays or during the week, when the lessons were read. They served to bring out the need of redemption and to present the principal prototypes of Christ in his ministry and passion.

Prophetæ, based on liturgy, structure and subject-matter, in earliest and expanded form
 Coventry prophets, based on Radix Jesse liturgy
 Annunciation and visitation, liturgical structure and subject-matter
 Barrenness of Anna and Mary's presentation, based on liturgy
 Mary's betrothment, liturgical suggestion
 Joseph's trouble, liturgical suggestion, both Gospel readings and lectiones
 Birth and shepherds, liturgical structure and subject-matter
 The Magi, liturgical structure and subject-matter
 Slaughter and flight into Egypt, liturgical basis and special antiphonal tags
 Christ and the doctors, liturgical basis

There can be no doubt that the greater number of plays of the Christmas series, in their simplest form, were taken directly from the liturgy and even expanded with subject-matter from the liturgy. The Purification play has been discussed in its chapter.

Baptism of Christ
 John the Baptist

Temptation
 Transfiguration
 Woman in adultery
 Lazarus
 Blind man at Jericho

These and other plays of the Ministry series contain enough evidence to make it probable that their episodal structure was copied from the liturgy, and in some cases even their entire subject-matter. That the special suggestion and choice of just these subjects in just this cyclical order came from the liturgy, has been shown above.

Entry into Jerusalem, based on liturgy
 Conspiracy, liturgical suggestion in all cases, in most cases also liturgical subject-matter
 The last supper, liturgical basis, structure and subject-matter
 Agony and betrayal, liturgical basis, antiphonal structure
 Trial before Caiaphas, liturgical basis
 Trial before Pilate, antiphonal structure, subject-matter largely from lectiones
 Dream of Pilate's wife, liturgical suggestion(?)
 Condemnation and crucifixion, liturgical basis and subject-matter
 Death and burial, liturgical basis, antiphonal tags

The evidence in regard to these Passion plays shows quite definitely that the simplest forms of the plays, either in the Latin or in the early transitional stage, were based directly upon the liturgy, and wherever additions were made, the principal suggestions came from liturgical sources.

Harrowing of Hell, based on liturgical structure, antiphonal tags
 Resurrection morning, liturgical basis, structure, subject-matter
 Appearance to Mary Magdalene, liturgical structure, and subject-matter
 Travellers to Emmaus, antiphonal structure, and liturgical subject-matter
 Incredulity of Thomas, liturgical outline in antiphons, lectiones
 Ascension, liturgical subject-matter, antiphonal tags
 Pentecost, liturgical subject-matter, structure, and tags

The plays of this group, with very few exceptions, were originally taken from the liturgy, in many cases retaining their tags, even in the cycles.

Death of Mary and assumption, based on liturgy

The Mary plays present sufficient evidence to connect them quite definitely with the liturgy. There would even be some probability of their having had a Latin original.

Ezechiel and Fifteen Signs of Doom, liturgical suggestion and subject-matter
 Antichrist, liturgical subject-matter, lectiones
 Doomsday, liturgical structure and subject-matter, antiphonal tags

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